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ABSTRACT

Citizen participation in Model Cities programs in ten southwestern cities is analyzed to determine the impact of federal assistance on housing in urban areas. The first section of the study provides a functional analysis of citizen participation in Model Cities, with special emphasis on performance criteria of resident involvement. Section two examines resident involvement from the standpoint of interagency linkages and procedures, overall performance, and goal achievement. The third portion of the study discusses the concepts of power and perceived alienation and considers some fundamental questions relative to the Model Cities demonstration projects as an instrument of change. Four distinctive findings of the study are indicated. First, there was a great deal of citizen involvement during initial stages of program planning. Second, there was substantial involvement by residents in areas such as membership on Model Cities program boards, subcommittees, local agencies, and other program-assisted projects. Third, there was evidence of increased citizen participation in neighborhood and other civic affairs. Fourth, socioeconomic variables, such as occupation, income, and education, correlated negatively with powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. Residents appeared to feel that they are part of, rather than alienated from, the Model City agencies. Seventeen tables and a bibliography are included. (Author/DB)

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CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

by NAOMI W. LEDÉ

with

HORTENSE W. DIXON

Special Consultant
for the study

SP 009 684

An Urban Resources Center Publication

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FOREWORD

The passage of legislation creating the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 set in motion a deliberate effort and a program design which had as its expectation the treatment of a wide range of urban problems in selected cities. By design, the program had as one of its objectives the concentration of federal and other resources in locally-designated Model Neighborhood Areas, thereby permitting a more visible and measurable demonstration of the impact of comprehensive federal assistance.

The new program, commonly known as Model Cities, was made available only to certain municipalities or public bodies having general governmental jurisdictions and powers. Model Cities was set up to operate for a span of six years, with the first year devoted almost exclusively to planning. Included in the planning methodology was a problem analysis phase to allow for problem definition and need delineation in neighborhood areas designated as target areas for the program's implementation. Program goals, objectives, and activities were directed toward demonstrating how the living environment and the general welfare of the people living in slums and blighted areas of cities could be substantially improved. The planning model of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development revealed a comprehensive program design and strategy.

Legislation establishing the Model Cities Program specifically called for comprehensive planning through the concentration and coordination of federal, state, local, public and private efforts. Specific guidelines were given for establishing program goals, objectives, and problem areas. Non-programmatic components included citizen participation, administration, and continuous planning and evaluation as special requirements. Provisions were included for the utilization of technical assistance in achieving program performance standards.

Two principal forms of direct assistance were provided by HUD. The first was a planning grant award which was provided by HUD after review and approval of an application. This award was designed to underwrite the preparation of a comprehensive demonstration plan. The second form of assistance was financial support — the supplemental entitlement — based on a percentage of existing federal funding directed to the Model Neighborhood Area (MNA). The supplemental monies were to be used for a variety of purposes, including funding the administrative component of the program, providing support for new and innovative projects, and serving as

matching funds for appropriate federal categorical programs.

To qualify for designation as a Model City, communities were evaluated on the basis of specific requirements and performance criteria. These requirements and performance criteria represented what became known as the HUD Planning Model. The Demonstration Cities Act of 1966 became the mechanism through which HUD could introduce a basic planning model which was considered to be different from traditional planning methodology used in cities, replacing often less analytical planning and allocation processes. The Comprehensive Planning Model contained this set of performance criteria: (1) establishment of a comprehensive planning organization to administer the program; (2) implementation of a complex set of sequential planning processes; (3) submission of carefully drafted and detailed plans and analyses; and (4) response in locally relevant fashion to certain undefined federal objectives concerning coordination of local planning activities, mobilization and concentration of resources, citizen participation, innovation and institutional change — all of which focused on the Model Neighborhood Area.*

The significance of the Planning Model developed by HUD lies both in its quest for comprehensiveness and complexity. The Model has been considered by some to be a highly rationalized one, with specific structural, procedural, and other product requirements. There was an attempt to integrate or provide appropriate linkage of social, physical, and economic phenomena together in an interdependent set of goals and objectives, with the dual focus of social planning and physical planning.

The Citizen Participation component of the Model encompassed parameters for assessing resident involvement in planning and decision-making. As perceived by HUD, resident involvement encompassed such activities as membership on Model Cities Program boards and subcommittees; employment on the City Demonstration Agency staff and in other program-assisted projects; and involvement in planning and project implementation activities of local agencies. The HUD plan also required citizen involvement in the writing and review of various Comprehensive Demonstration Plan (CDP) components; their eventual implementation and evaluation. Provisions were required for citizen participation in the definition and analysis of problems, in assignment of priorities and

*See: *The Model Cities Program*. Evaluation Division, Office of Community Development, Department of Housing and Urban Development, July, 1973, pp. 8-13.

budgets, and in formulating an overall program administrative structure. Residents were expected to play active roles in all aspects of the planning process.

To determine the effectiveness of the planning model for the City Demonstration Program, a set of performance criteria was developed, including the following: (1) innovation in structures, processes, and planning products; (2) shifts in the local mobilization and concentration of resources — technical and financial; (3) coordination among local, state, and federal agencies with regard to Model Cities planning activities; (4) institutional change; and (5) resident participation. These criteria, though somewhat comprehensive in scope, were not defined in operational terms by the designers of the planning model; therefore, making it difficult to determine precisely their eventual value in implementing and evaluating program performance.

This study dwells specifically on the Citizen Participation program component. It examines the form and level of resident involvement in planning and the decision-making process; considers general aspects of administrative activities and staff influence in plan formulation; examines the perceptions and attitudes of residents toward the Model City Agency in selected cities; determines citizen influence in program planning, coordination, and implementation; and explores the extent to which program objectives and activities have been influential in inducing institutional change.

The first section of this study provides a functional analysis of citizen participation in Model Cities, with special emphasis on resident involvement performance criteria. Section two examines resident involvement from the standpoint of interagency linkages and procedures; overall program performance and goal achievement. The final portion of the study is confined to a discussion of the concept of power and perceived alienation, and considers some fundamental questions relative to the "demonstration project" as an instrument of change.

This study was financed by a grant for Organized Research from the Faculty Research Committee in Texas Southern University and supplemented by funds provided under Contract No. 1709 with the Urban Resources Center by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Acknowledgment is made to seven former graduate students in Urban Community Development in Texas Southern University. Interviewing for the study was conducted by them. Mrs. James Murphy Spigner and Alicia H. Mathis conducted interviews with Model Cities agencies and residents in New Orleans, Louisiana, Austin and Edinburg, Texas. Birdie Natalie Burch and Barbara S. Marcus completed the same type field enumeration for the cities of San Antonio, Texas, and Albuquerque, New Mexico; while Tremaine B. Williams and Floyd L. Briscoe completed interviews with agency personnel and Model Neighborhood residents in the Model Cities of Little Rock, Arkansas, Waco and Houston, Texas. Anne R. Harris conducted surveying in Lawton and Tulsa, Oklahoma. Without the superb performances by these trained interviewers, the study could not have been completed on schedule. We are grateful to them for the invaluable interviewing services rendered. Special thanks are due Hortense W. Dixon, Director of the Urban Resources Center and Chairman of the Faculty Research Committee. Dr. Dixon not only encouraged us at every phase of the study but gave critical reactions to the final draft relative to the overall concept of Citizen Participation in urban areas.

Statistical tabulations and data analysis were tasks performed by Gwendolyn M. Bookman. She also assisted me in interpreting the data and offered valuable service in graphic illustrations. Joe A. Bookman completed the final charts and designed the cover for the study. Kathryn A. Goode participated in a variety of tasks relative to all drafts of the study. She provided research assistance in locating key studies for the development of related research; made all contacts for field enumeration; and assumed many of the administrative duties relative to funding as well as typing all drafts of the manuscript.

Because of these contributions, the study is dedicated to my former graduate students and staff and my gratitude is expressed for their contributions to the study. They must share any credit for the merit of the work; and I assume all responsibility for any faults or conclusions drawn.

Texas Southern University
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August, 1974

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SUMMARY IMPLICATIONS AND GUIDELINES FOR POLICY

This study has attempted to examine the effectiveness of citizen participation components for Model Cities programs in ten selected cities in the Southwest Region. While dwelling specifically on the functional aspects of resident involvement in program planning and all other operations, consideration was also given to the operational aspects of other non-programmatic components such as the administrative structure, resident employment, and continuing planning and evaluation. These elements are discussed briefly in sections dealing with output performance or goal achievement. Additional attention has been given to interagency involvement and linkage mechanisms and the extent to which residents from Model Neighborhood areas felt they were alienated from the City Demonstration Agency and decisions made relative to unmet needs of the neighborhoods. A very crucial portion of this study was the use of parameters which measured both perceptions and attitudes toward the citizen participation component, the Model City Agency and its program components. An index, constructed on the basis of HUD planning model requirements, was used to assess goal-performance and achievement.

Some distinctive findings of the study are worth noting. First, there was a great deal of citizen involvement during the initial stages of program planning. The HUD planning model entails a sequential planning process designed to produce a Comprehensive Plan and related results. Our findings indicate that, in the communities chosen as Model Cities, neighborhood residents actively and freely participated in the description and analysis of problems as a phase of planning; in establishing priorities, objectives, and program approaches; and in strategies for implementation of some program objectives. There was little, if any, citizen input in most cities at the upper level of decision-making which generally involved funding or refunding of projects, budgeting, hiring personnel, program review, and final decisions relative to priorities for the Comprehensive City Demonstration Plan. Decisions concerning these issues were more staff-dominated, with minimal citizen influence.

Secondly, we found that there was substantial involvement by residents in such areas as membership on Model Cities program boards and subcommittees, employment on the CDA staff, and in other program-assisted projects for most of the cities included in the survey. There was a great deal of involvement in planning and project

implementation activities by traditional and other local agencies. It was found that the writing and review of various Comprehensive Demonstration Plans were mostly performed by administrative staff persons and professionals from other agencies.

Third, there was evidence of increased citizen participation in neighborhood and other civic affairs, with this upsurge in community involvement being attributed to the impact of the federally funded Model Cities component. These findings compare favorably with those of Thomas Thorwood in his study of "The Planning and Management Process in City Government" published in the *Municipal Yearbook of 1973*. Thorwood found that a majority of respondents in the 268 cities included in his survey reported an increase in citizen participation in all forms of public meetings, in Model Cities and Community Action Agency programs, and in citizen groups. Only in the case of voting did he find no increase in citizen participation.

An examination of reports from citizen participation organizations in the various cities shows some variation in the degree of resident involvement, and the size of the city appeared to have no relationship to the level of resident involvement in affairs which affected the quality of life in immediate neighborhood areas or the community at large.

Fourth, as an alienation measurement, we used three dimensions: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. Our findings indicated that socio-economic variables such as occupation, income, and education — for the most part — correlated negatively with components of alienation. Exceptions to this were feelings of estrangement from work and evidence of feelings of social isolation in some age groups. On the whole, we found that use of the scale for general alienation permitted us to gain an overview of the relationship between alienation and socio-economic status. Residents appear to feel that they are a part of, rather than alienated from, the Model City Agencies in cities.

The study attempted to outline a theory of relationships between professional organizations in the communities studied and citizen participation components. In developing a linkage theory, we used variables or procedures typically characteristic of how organizations relate to the community, and theoretical dimensions underlying each linkage variable. The citizen participation component of Model Cities programs comprised the dependent variable while organizational elements or linkages were treated as independent variables. Using this kind of submodel, we found evidence of some linkage between the Model Cities resident involvement component and other agencies and organizations in various cities. Interagency linkage and cooperation was very

pronounced in all of the ten cities. The prevailing sentiment among Model Neighborhood residents concerning the Citizen Participation program and agencies seemed to be that the impetus provided by the administration of the Model Cities agency and subcontractual arrangements was primarily responsible for interagency relationships.

A major concern of this analysis was to assess the effectiveness of the citizen participation component for the City Demonstration Program (CDP). Certain participatory functions outlined in the HUD planning model were used as parameters for assessing output performance. It was found that overall program impact in all cities was moderately high. On a five-point scale where "5" was considered high, and "1" was considered low, the average impact for all cities was 3.27. The combined impact for large and small cities alike approximated 3.3 (moderate).

In general, the HUD planning model shows some promise for integrating citizen input into the planning system, if properly applied. The systemic elements included in the design appear to be anchored in a program philosophy which, when kept in tact, is comprehensive enough to make substantial impact on social and physical problems for an entire urban area. Also found in the Model is some recognition of the idea that overcoming systemic blockages is one of the prerequisites for change and/or modification in existing institutional practices and traditional strategies for service delivery.

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

One of the fundamental problems of demonstration projects such as Model Cities is the ability to translate ideology and commitment into workable strategies for change. "Basically, we regard strategy as an orchestrated attempt to influence a person or system in relation to some desired goal."* Using this definition, current techniques for application of the demonstration cities model or the HUD planning model fall short of any strategic approaches to institutional change.

Based on findings from the survey, the citizen participation component programs are functionally compatible with certain performance criteria, but they fail to contain orchestrated strategies for institutional change despite evidence of certain partnership arrangements and associations with city administrations. Resident neighborhood organizations follow guidelines of the HUD planning and participation model; yet, we found no evidence of existing or

*A full explanation of these strategies is found in *Strategies of Community Organization*, Fred M. Cox, et al., (ed.), (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock Pub., Inc., 1971).

evolving strategies which could be considered amenable to achieving the goals of social change. The citizen participation component organizations lack strategy orchestration in the sense that efforts are not made to take into consideration the actions of key allies and adversaries as they bear upon the achievement of the overall goals of the demonstration programs. In a few words, any attempts to exorcize inadequate service delivery strategies from institutional structures; to exorcize or eliminate racist practices and philosophies from city bureaucracies and social service institutions are, in reality, "state-of-the-system" goals which cannot be achieved with a *solo* performance.

There is need for a community strategy — one which often involves "a complex and dynamic pattern of performances *within* performances which have the capability of progressing over time as each stage in an action-oriented scheme is completed."* In the final analysis, a suggested strategy would involve pulling together a constellation of all actors and blending together power-holders and decision-makers — both individually and collectively. Other approaches to be considered are rational persuasion, mobilizing issues, approaches toward the opposition (decentralization and change); and concentration on both single and multiple points of entry into decision-making bodies.

These approaches appear to be in consonance with the intent of demonstration programs. A significant point to be considered here is that through the achievement of the citizen participation components of Model Cities, particularly in involving residents in planning and implementation there can be a gradual movement from the process of involvement to some strategy processes for change. Communication gaps once prevalent between the citizen and his city have virtually disappeared in communities where active citizen participation organizations exist. There is greater dialogue between various citizen groups and city administrations; evidence of some citizen bargaining power; and, what appears to be the emergence of an appropriate atmosphere for community development. The next phase for Model Cities resident involvement components would appear to be the development of an orchestrated and community-wide strategy for institutional change.

Finally, the priority objectives of all demonstration programs should be the combining of human resources so that massive attacks on social and physical problems can take place on a broader scale. There is excess capacity inherent in the organic linkage of institutional objectives and strategies, and in the pursuit of common goals.

*Ibid.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

The idea that the poor should be involved in shaping policy is more or less consistent with the ideals of the concept of local democracy. The basic intent of "maximum feasible participation" was to increase the competence of local leaders — particularly poor people — in managing their own affairs. This view of citizen participation has often been referred to as a more radical form of democracy in which both institutional representatives of established power and the consumers of service (not in their role as clients, but as citizens) would shape policy.[1]

As the whole philosophy of citizen participation unravels, one is left with a series of assumptions about citizen influence in the making of policy decisions. One assumption is that participation in social action generates power — the capacity to control and change events in one's life. This idea represented a prevailing influence in earlier programs of community action under the aegis of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Another assumption is that apathy or complacency exists among impoverished people; that programs designed to promote participation in social action are capable of providing the mechanism through which a stake in society can be achieved. A third assumption is that alienation results from disengagement in community activities, and that poverty itself is the lack of power to command the events of one's life or "to control one's destiny." The validity of these assumptions is still uncertain, and the fundamental question of whether demonstration programs are successful and will lead to major policy changes in institutional functioning has often been left obscure or at least partially unanswered. At the heart of this question is the problem of developing a means for evaluating the effectiveness of citizen participation in the policymaking process.

The program guide for the Model Cities Demonstration program contains a citizen participation component as one of its basic requirements. It based this requirement on the belief that residents in model neighborhoods are best able to indicate the specific aspects of life which are most important to them, even though technicians and professionals may be better equipped to define the specific terms which could be used for measures of goal attainment. As a demonstration program, Model Cities was funded for a definite period of time. The program had specific objectives: it served a select area and population,

[1]Martin Rein, *Social Policy* (N.Y.: Random House, 1970), p. 364.

and it was geared toward innovative services and programs which were designed to generate major shifts in the aims, styles, strategies, resources, and effectiveness of social service institutions.

Several arguments have been presented for and against the demonstration project as a strategy of change. On the positive side are those authors who believe that the demonstration project is one of the most powerful methods of bringing about change. Galbraith called the demonstration project the modern device for stimulating action without spending money; while Peter Marris describes it as the middle ground between conforming . . . and uncompromising social reform.[2] Rein summarizes the assets of a demonstration project by stating that "it is fashionable, politically attractive, rationally appealing, inexpensive, and not binding."[3] He also poses some rather cogent questions about demonstration projects: Are we justified in placing so much hope in demonstration projects? Does not the professional control of discontent obscure the dramatization of issues that are often necessary for significant change?

Some of the weaknesses cited for broad commitment demonstration programs include the following: (1) they often promote unequal distribution of money and resources; (2) they distract from national policy; and (3) they overemphasize success and they tend to disregard or play down failure. The criticisms or weaknesses of demonstration programs underscore some of the flaws in social programming directed toward the removal of barriers to social and economic opportunity.

Three critical questions are considered fundamental to this investigation of Model Cities demonstration citizen participation programs. How much actual involvement can result from Model Cities citizen participation program structures? Do citizens influence the determination of policies of Model Cities programs which directly affect their communities? Is change or success of the program measured by activities or by performances?

Positive and negative consequences of demonstration programs notwithstanding, "the ultimate test of the success of a demonstration project is whether it can actually influence long-term and large-scale policy. It is not enough to prove that an idea is workable. If the who, what, and how questions are not answered with clarity and determination, a demonstration program, no matter how successful can easily turn out to be a ritual where change is measured by activity, not performance," says Rein.[4]

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 139.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 140.

[4]Martin Rein and S. M. Miller, "The Demonstration as a Strategy of Change," *Transaction*, (January-February, 1956), in Rein, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

One of the chief functions of a demonstration program such as Model Cities is to test the validity of ideas which are aimed toward improving services and policies; and activities designed to improve the quality of life for citizens through experimentation and small-scale innovation. These same ideas must contribute to altering the direction and effectiveness of service delivery systems of social service programs and other institutions. The Demonstration Program is designed to serve as an instrument of change while posing no major threat to existing institutional structures. To examine whether, through citizen participation and program activities, some change has occurred in neighborhoods designated as target areas, it is necessary to assess present program function and to examine the objectives, program activities, basic ideas and activities of the overall demonstration program.

This study explores certain goals and objectives of Model Cities programs in selected cities, examines functional areas of programming and identifies some of the factors that appear to facilitate or block output performance or goal achievement. Using a systems approach, the Model Cities program is viewed as a subsystem which interacts strongly with the larger municipal or local governmental system in cities. Proper definition of the basic criteria used in measuring effectiveness is given. These criteria insure the use of basic program components and objectives and the resulting plans for implementation.

The organization of the study is rather straightforward. Our research findings are confined to those which have relevance to planning requirements, citizen involvement in developing the Program structure, objectives and funding, performance and achievement, agency involvement, neighborhood participation, problems, issues, perceived power and alienation, and summary implications.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT AND FUNCTIONS

I. ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT AND FUNCTIONS

Program administration is a non-programmatic component of the Model Cities agencies. Projects of the administrative structure may vary from one city to another. However, a central caveat of the HUD plan is that ultimate administration and fiscal responsibility for the program would rest with a local chief executive—meaning principally the mayor or his surrogate. The City Demonstration Agency, under the aegis of the mayor or his appointed director, is required to establish specific ties or effective linkages with local resident groups and existing agencies and organizations in Model Neighborhood Areas and legitimate public and private agencies which provide services to the areas.

In many ways, the City Demonstration Agency (Model Cities), formed to administer the new program in small and large cities alike, operates as a microcosm of the city administration of which it is a part. As a microcosm, the Model Cities Agency mirrors the strengths, diversities, and weaknesses of service delivery systems in local municipalities. We found this to be the case in almost all of the cities included in the study.

The program structures of the CDA in a majority of the cities were bureaucratic in nature, and basic management techniques were applied to its overall functional operations. By intent and design, the City Demonstration Agency serves as the coordinating body for programs aimed at improving the lives of citizens in target neighborhoods usually designated by specific socio-economic indicators. The indicators tend to define the needs and problems of persons living in low-income neighborhoods of the central city. As the focal organization for dealing with both social and physical problems, the agency seeks to demonstrate improved management of social services, of physical planning; and it strives toward demonstrating this innovative capability to the community at large.

From a managment standpoint, the service category profiles reflect program components which may be classified into subsystems of the larger municipal system. The social subsystem components include education, health, social services, manpower and development, economic and business, crime and delinquency. The physical subsystem program components include recreation and culture, environmental protection, housing, relocation, transportation and communication. The administrators of programs for these two subsystems interact strongly with the local governmental system. Municipal or local government, as the larger system, satisfies the needs

of the total citizenry; the City Demonstration Agency as a subsystem concentrates on selected neighborhood areas. Programmatically, however, structures of programs and service parallel those of the larger system.

Recognizing Model Cities programs as subsystem components, it is necessary to assess developmental phases or activities from a systemic point of view. The necessary steps recommended for a continuous process of planning and programming include a combination of activities. Each of these elements is reviewed below.

Problem Formulation. Efforts are invested in thinking about the problem, exploring its proper magnitude, formulating goals and exploring true objectives, and searching out workable alternatives. The specific problem is defined in detail—by describing its full and proper context and listing short-range and long-range plans. *Planning decisions* and program approaches are based on problem identification.

Goal Statements. The goals of social and physical planning in Model Neighborhoods should reflect social and monetary values of the areas. At the outset, it is important to define the goals and *objectives* which the program seeks to serve. This function is recognized as an integral part of the planning process.

Objectives and Program Approaches. Objectives are defined as levels of performance which measure the progress of the agency or city toward achieving its goals. The development of a plan of action is based on pre-determined goals and objectives established for each program component. Citizen input is vital in formulating goals and objectives as well as program approaches.

Citizen Participation. The involvement of residents in the planning of programs, in implementing and evaluating program performance is a key requirement for all Model Cities agencies.

In summary, the aforementioned elements comprise subsystem functions of City Demonstration agencies. The analysis of the subsystem and its environment, as employed in systems analysis, is essentially a consideration of all components of the subsystem to examine their relationships to each other and to the local governmental system as a whole. This investigation is limited to the Citizen Participation component of the agency structure.

The Structure of Citizen Participation. The Department of Housing and Urban Development did not specify a definite structure for citizen participation in its planning model. Resident involvement was perceived by HUD as encompassing such areas as membership on Model Cities program boards and subcommittees; employment on the

City Demonstration Agency staff and in other program-assisted projects; and involvement in the planning and project implementation activities of local agencies. Additional involvements was called for in the writing and review of various program components as well as citizen participation in the eventual implementation and evaluation of program activities. With these general criteria in mind, we examined the program structures of citizen participation programs in selected cities in the Southwest Region.

ORGANIZED CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

It is evident from the existing typologies of citizens' organizations in several cities in the Southwest Region that some emphasis is placed on resident involvement in Model Cities continuous planning and programming. A permanent pattern for involving citizens in the determination of agency policy in Model Neighborhood Areas evolved from our findings, with some slight deviation in smaller areas such as Lawton, Oklahoma and Edinburg, Texas.

Citizen participation program structures of various city demonstration agencies include a series of separate though related functions such as planning, goal formulation, priority setting, problem analysis and identification, resource allocation, formulating objectives, project operation and evaluation. Our survey of the programs in ten cities in the Southwest Region indicated that a basic management strategy is employed, and that there is great similarity in methods of organizing and reporting.

The actual structure of citizen participation organizations consists of a Model Neighborhood resident commission or Central Coordinating committee; task force or study committees in each of the program areas, advisory committees and neighborhood councils.

The Model Neighborhood Commission or the Central Coordinating Committee serves as the planning and coordinating arm of the organization and, as such, is an advisory adjunct to the city administration. Central concerns of this body include such things as identifying a variety of salient socio-physical problems affecting the Model Neighborhood Area; analyzing problems and delineating needs; and developing a comprehensive set of program priorities for the resolution of problems.

The central structure consists of individuals elected or appointed from Model Neighborhood areas, city officials, and professional resource persons. In some cities, additional members of the

commission are appointed at-large by the mayor. The Model Neighborhood Resident Commission serves in an advisory capacity to the mayor and city council for all recommendations initiated by itself or any of its planning committees. Program area specialists may be assigned to task force committees to provide whatever expertise is needed in planning. In some cities technical assistance committees were formed for each program area. Resident training sessions were also conducted for Model Neighborhood persons. Several different approaches were used, including a Model Cities game, role simulation, and other orientation sessions which tend to vary accoridng to current issues such as revenue sharing, planned variation, and any legislation which affects the status of the neighborhood — whether local, state, or national.

Advisory Committees, Task Forces, Councils

Advisory committees and/or councils and task forces were composed of a representative number of persons from Model Neighborhood areas. Where neighborhood organizations existed, they were included in the selection of representatives for the Citizen Advisory Committee. Membership lists for advisory committees, task forces, and councils often included suitable representatives from economic groups; civic, church, educational and familial groups; government agencies and communications media; social service organizations; and minority groups.

The primary functions of various committees and task forces parallel the purpose of the citizen involvement component. Succinctly stated, functions include: determining the nature and extent of problems and developing approaches for alleviating them; making recommendations for improvement; and disseminating information to citizens and groups alike as to the needs for improvement.

The size and composition of citizen advisory groups in the cities studied reflected the population size of Model Neighborhood areas and the breadth of needs and problems to be remedied. Commission structures in most of the cities contained specialized subcommittees whose purposes were to mediate neighborhood priorities and desires with the professional planners. These component review committees functioned as a link between the target area and the planning staffs of various Model Cities departments.

In reviewing the various by-laws of citizen participation commissions, one can readily discern a typical organizational or bureaucratic set-up, consisting of an executive and/or steering

committee composed of a chairman and other officers of the full committee and various subcommittees. A steering committee is composed of one member selected from each of the Model Neighborhood areas or districts. This same committee studies and reviews documents of the Model Cities department which relate to the implementation of plans, programs, and proposals. Findings and recommendations on such items are reported to the Executive Committee or the full commission for appropriate actions.

Generally, special "working" committees or task forces are utilized in the planning process. An individual component or program of the Model Cities Agency may be given an assigned task force to work with the director of that program. Again, the task force has resident area representation. Each task force provides input into the planning, coordination, and monitoring phases of the agency process and recommends certain proposals to the Advisory Board relative to particular program areas.

Procedurally, the Executive Committee sets policy, develops rules and by-laws; plans the overall advisory committee program; and coordinates all activities initiated by itself or its planning committees. The citizen participation structure for the Model Neighborhoods aims toward facilitating meaningful involvement of area residents in the decision - making process, and makes provisions for substantial representation of non-area residents, professional, and city officials in the planning of the total program to be administered by the City Demonstration Agency. In essence, a symbiotic relationship exists where both population elements — city officials and area residents — need each other in the direction and execution of a program aimed toward social and physical problems.

Objectives and Funding

Fundamentally, the citizen participation component program operates on the assumption that since the basic objective of Model Cities is to improve the quality of life among residents in neighborhoods, residents are best able to indicate the specific aspects of life which are relevant and important to them. The underlying rationale implies that residents' judgments should be reflected in goal statements; in planning and implementation. One of the Model Cities included in our sample devoted specific attention to the resident participation program. A special report on resident involvement from Lawton, Oklahoma described the objective of that program in a "statement of position": To promote a single representative,

democratically chosen neighborhood resident participation structure which will relate to all agencies and organizations, public and private, as the valid representative choice of Model Neighborhood Area residents.[5] Related objectives were given by program directors and appear to be representative of goals which are aimed toward carrying out an integrated, bottom-to-top-to-bottom process for achieving the following:

- Defining needs of residents and neighborhoods.
- Setting objectives for meeting these needs.
- Analyzing and selecting alternative courses of action for achieving stated objectives.
- Establishing a line of communications between the community, government, public and private agencies, and organizations.
- Allocating resources among alternatives by working to improve and enrich existing programs so they respond more effectively to unique problems of neighborhoods through improved service delivery.
- Assigning task forces to promote a partnership for carrying out approved courses of action.
- Reflecting the needs of the community in planning, monitoring and supporting the implementation of projects.

The resident involvement component of Model Cities programs, by its nature and structure, has the responsibility to monitor progress against plans, both to improve individual program performance and total output performance by the Agency's programs, and to strengthen plans by periodic evaluations during cycles of the planning process.

Funding. Of its several antecedents, the resident participation component, as it was originally conceived, looked more to community action as the basis for neighborhood input. To try to assess the impact of funding on resident involvement is to venture to make judgments about rather complex operations. In sum, the number of variables inherent in the level of funding for a program component is enormous to the point of discouraging fragmented assessment. However, individual budgetary line items provide some estimates of the amount of funds allocated for particular programmatic elements.

Funding information was not available for all Model Cities program components in cities surveyed. Some cities concentrated on specific

[5] Lawton Model Cities Program, "Citizen Participation Statement of Position," 1972-73, p. 1.

program areas as dictated by the needs considered greatest in the communities to be served. In general, the functional designation of funds, based on project summaries for the ten cities studied, corresponds favorably with similar average percentages for all Model Cities programs funded under the provisions set forth by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966.

A percentage distribution of funds for selected cities in the Southwest Region reveals that an average of 4.1 percent of the funds were allocated for the citizen participation functional area. A city-by-city breakdown shows Houston, Texas and Lawton, Oklahoma leading all other cities in funding resident involvement activities, with 6.7 percent and 3.1 percent funding for citizen involvement, respectively. Edinburg and Waco, Texas, provided less than two percent of total funding for citizen participation. Table 1 gives a breakdown of funding by functional program areas; while Chart 1 compares these data with total funding by category for all Model Cities programs as a whole.

Based on project summaries for all Model Cities, about 20 percent of the Model Cities funds are designated for education; 11 percent for health; 17 percent for environmental protection and development (including urban renewal); 16 percent for housing; 6 percent for manpower and job development and consolidated social services, respectively; 5 percent for economic and business development; 5 percent for recreation and culture; four percent for crime and delinquency; 7 percent for program administration; one percent for transportation and communications; and less than one percent for each of the other areas, including relocation, evaluation and information and citizen participation. Table 2 provides evidence of the level of funding according to functional areas, and shows how internal funding allocations were made for each component for a majority of the Model Cities for 1971-72.

Earlier reports from a majority of the Model Cities, including cities located in the Southwest Region such as New Orleans, Lawton, Edinburg, and Tulsa, indicate that funding for particular functional areas such as housing, economic and business development, education, social services, transportation, manpower development and others shows great similarity. Parity in funding levels is greatest where cities are similar in population size.

Program emphasis in most cities centered on such areas as education, housing, recreation and culture, and manpower. In smaller communities outside the major metropolitan areas there has been a closer identity of interest on economic development issues between local government and private business leaders. For instance, 6 percent

Table 1

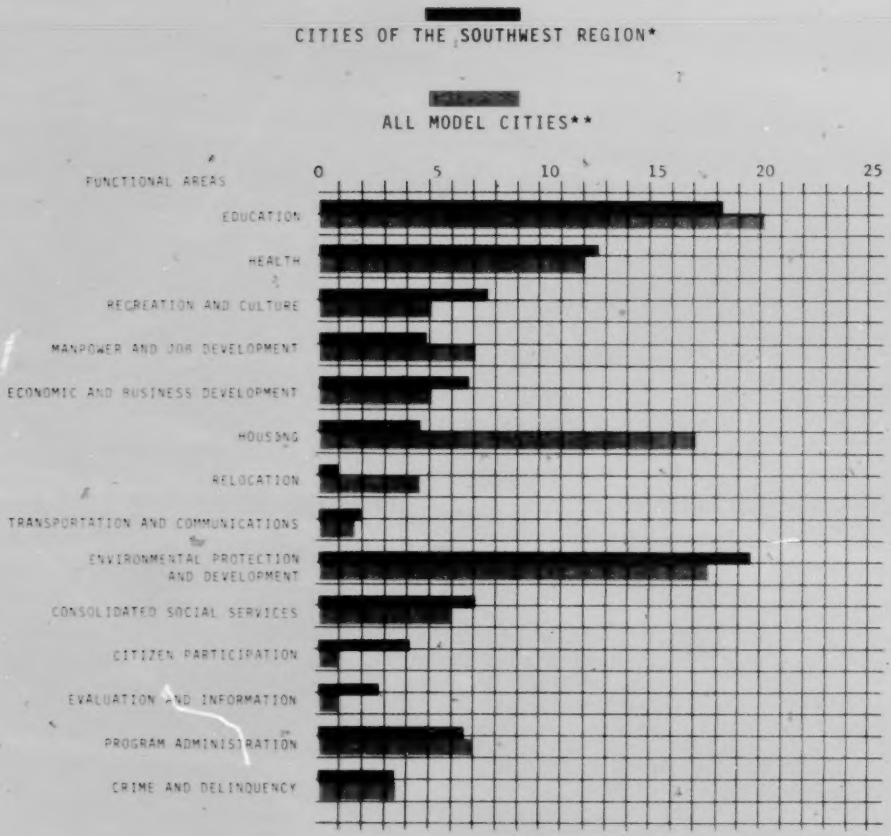
Percentage Distribution of Funds According to Program Categories for Six Models Cities in Southwest Region

Categories	ALBUQUERQUE		EDINBURG		HOUSTON		LAWTON		LITTLE ROCK		WACO		TOTAL	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
Education	410,513	17.2	1,577,000	43.9	3,575,408	17.7	215,572	11.6	505,949	14.4	759,277	10.5	7,043,719	18.2
Health	503,327	21.0	166,000	4.6	3,045,167	15.1	169,005	9.1	182,961	5.2	698,426	9.6	4,764,886	12.3
Recreation & Culture	-	-	153,000	4.3	2,170,094	10.8	-	-	-	-	501,367	6.9	2,824,461	7.3
Manpower	265,922	11.1	184,000	5.1	1,229,833	6.1	-	-	101,072	2.9	120,000	1.7	1,900,827	4.9
Economic & Business Dev.	20,018	0.8	217,000	6.0	1,398,356	6.9	166,763	9.0	145,000	4.1	707,831	9.7	2,654,968	6.8
Housing	68,819	2.9	172,000	4.8	1,067,220	5.3	-	-	213,333	6.1	225,000	3.1	1,746,372	4.5
Relocation	20,442	0.9	-	-	203,846	1.0	-	-	-	-	120,000	1.7	344,288	0.9
Transportation	-	-	61,000	1.7	72,077	0.5	-	-	-	-	601,625	8.3	734,702	1.9
Environmental Protection	-	-	278,000	7.7	732,439	3.6	-	-	-	-	2,405,533	33.1	3,415,972	8.8
Physical Improvement	803,553	33.6	-	-	-	-	948,985	51.2	2,303,781	65.7	-	-	4,056,319	10.5
Citizen Participation	62,583*	2.6	55,000*	1.5	1,381,693*	6.7	57,000*	3.1	-	-	53,000*	0.7	1,609,276*	4.1
Evaluation and Information	-	-	44,000	1.2	564,387	2.9	-	-	-	-	440,000	6.1	1,068,387	2.8
Program Administration	-	-	365,000	10.2	1,796,691	9.0	-	-	-	-	300,587	4.1	2,462,278	6.3
City Demonstration Agency	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,000	0.3	20,000	0.1
Crime & Delinquency	27,978	1.2	-	-	1,143,455	5.7	70,282	3.8	-	-	98,427	1.3	1,340,142	3.5
Social Services	207,886	8.7	320,000	8.9	1,752,763	8.7	225,949	2.2	57,000	1.6	210,927	2.9	2,774,525	7.1
TOTAL	2,391,041	100.0	3,592,000	99.9	20,153,429	100.0	1,853,556	100.0	3,509,096	100.0	7,262,000	100.0	38,761,122	100.0

*Estimates
" - " Not Available

Chart 1

Functional Designation of Funds Based on Project Summaries



**AVERAGE PERCENTAGES FOR FUNCTIONAL PROGRAM AREAS FOR SIX CITIES INCLUDING HOUSTON, EDINBURG, LAWTON, ALBUQUERQUE, LITTLE ROCK, AND WACO. NOT ALL CITIES HAD PROGRAMS IN EVERY FUNCTIONAL AREA.

*BASED ON DATA SHOWN IN MODEL CITIES SERVICE CENTER BULLETIN, PUBLISHED BY NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES AND U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, VOL. 2, NO. 9 (JUNE, 1971), P. 41.

Table 2

The Percentage of Funds Allocated for Specific Program Areas by Special Functional Category

PROGRAM AREA	Percentage of Funding	
Total Budget, Economic Development		(05.0)*
Venture Capital	35	
Assignment to Construction-Contractors	5	
Economic Planning	5	
Small Business Development	13	
Industrial Development	9	
Other	33	
Total Budget, Health		(11.0)
Personal	43	
Dental	1	
Supportive Services	10	
Mental	10	
Facilities	12	
Environmental	24	
Total Budget, Education		(20.0)
Vocational Education	5	
Early Childhood	10	
Higher Education	13	
Adult and Continuing	16	
Elementary, Secondary	56	
Total Budget, Housing		(16.0)
Housing Development	38	
Tenant Organizations and Education	19	
Home Ownership Assistance	6	
Housing Code Enforcement	8	
Counseling and Studies	9	
Emergency Repair	11	
Housing Demonstrations	9	
Total Budget, Manpower-Job Development		(06.0)
Model Cities Employment Training	1	
Hiring Manpower Staff	1	
Construction Trade Training	2	
Improved Employment Practices	7	
Increased Job Opportunities	19	
Manpower Development Centers	20	
Training Services	50	

(Continued)

Table 2

The Percentage of Funds Allocated for Specific Program Areas by Special Functional Category

PROGRAM AREA	Percentage of Funding	
Total Budget, Recreation and Culture		(05.0)*
Cultural and Arts Programs	10	
Planning	8	
Special Impact Programs	7	
Recreational Programs	25	
Facilities	50	
Total Budget, Transportation		(01.0)
Airports	1	
Transportation Planning	4	
Transit/Transportation Service	37	
Street Systems	58	
Total Budget, Physical Development		(17.0)
Sanitation and Pollution Efforts	30	
Other Improvements	7	
Land Use Planning and Studies	6	
Water, Sewer Utilities	18	
Street Repair Improvement	17	
Land Acquisition and Renewal Activity	22	
Other Programs (Including Program Administration)		(19.0)
Total		(100.0)

*Average funding for a majority of the Model Cities for 1971-1972.

of the budget for the Edinburg Model Cities Agency was used for economic and business development; while 9 percent of the budget in Lawton, Oklahoma and 9.7 percent of the funds for Waco, Texas were used for economic and business development.

Education, health, and physical improvements received substantial funding in several cities of the Southwest Region. Over 33 percent of the funds for Albuquerque, New Mexico were used for physical improvements and about 66 percent of the funds in Little Rock, Arkansas were used for this same programmatic component. Non-programmatic components such as program administration ranged from a high of 10.2 percent in Edinburg to a low of 4.1 percent in Waco, Texas. In Houston, consolidated social services were allocated about 8.7 percent of the funds for that city. This figure is much less for such Model Cities as Lawton, Little Rock, and Waco. Total average funding for all cities tends to show education and health program components as receiving the greater proportion of the funding. In Chart 1 we compare the level of funding for cities in the Southwest Region with the level of funding for all programs during a specified period of time.

Several of the cities in the Southwest Region did indicate uses of supplemental funds and the pooling of funds for special social services projects. Adult education programs, day care facilities and projects for the aged were programmatic activities which concentrated their resources so that problems were attacked in a comprehensive way. "Meals on Wheels," adult day care, child care services, various volunteer programs, foster care and other social service components represent programs in which public and private funds were used to augment the supplemental funds received from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. Generally, such funds are referred to as "in-kind" donations or contributions. A special report on Model Cities, published by the National League of Cities in 1971, carried information on activities in New Orleans, Louisiana. During the period 1969-1971, New Orleans received three significant planning grants, including one from the U.S. Department of Labor; a grant from the President's Commission on Youth Opportunities to develop a youth coordinated council, and a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to establish a Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. For the same period, the city received a $240,000 Model Cities planning grant.

Another area where supplemental funds have been used include day care programs. At least 35 Model Cities negotiated and executed cooperative agreements with State Departments of Welfare for joint

funding of child care services.

Budgeting for individual program components funneled expenditures in some areas more than others. Table 3 shows how funds were distributed for specific program areas and what specific functional areas received the greater proportion of funds. For example, first action year expenditures for Houston show a figure of $773,401 in funds for citizen participation; $608,292 for the second action year, a slight decrease over the previous year. During the first action year, 7.1 percent of the funds were allocated for resident participation; while only 6.7 percent of the funds were used for this purpose during the second action year. As a whole, including both action years, an average of about 7 percent of the funds went for resident involvement and participation in planning and implementing Model Cities program activities. Table 3 shows a breakdown of expenditures for the first and second action years and total expenditures for programs in Houston as of 1973.*

Table 3

A Distribution of Expenditures for Model City Programmatic Components for Houston, 1973

CATEGORIES	FIRST ACTION YEAR		SECOND ACTION YEAR		OVERALL EXPENDITURES	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Education	$ 1,597,334	14.6	$1,978,074	21.5	$3,576,408	17.7
Health	1,553,397	14.0	1,491,770	16.2	3,045,167	15.1
Recreation & Culture	1,755,127	16.0	414,967	4.5	2,170,094	10.8
Manpower	523,611	4.8	706,822	7.7	1,229,833	6.1
Economic & Business Dev.	504,849	4.6	893,507	9.7	1,398,356	6.9
Housing	870,463	8.0	196,757	2.0	1,067,220	5.3
Relocation	56,442	0.5	147,404	1.6	203,846	1.0
Transportation	62,589	0.6	9,488	0.1	72,077	0.5
Environment Protection	277,572	2.5	454,867	5.0	732,439	3.6
Citizen Participation	773,401	7.1	608,292	6.7	1,381,693	6.7
Evaluation & Information	282,263	2.6	302,124	3.3	584,387	2.9
Program Administration	997,480	9.1	799,211	8.7	1,796,691	9.0
Social Services	1,069,767	9.8	682,996	7.4	1,752,763	8.7
Crime & Delinquency	631,560	5.8	511,695	5.6	1,143,455	5.7
TOTAL	$10,955,855	100.0	$9,197,574	100.0	$20,153,429	100.0

The information provided relative to the funding of programs does not represent the total picture. The quantitative data utilized in the tables are representative of the level of funding for cities found in the Southwest Region. Some of the data are estimated which may account for any differentials found for cities included in the survey sample. To be sure, some Model Cities concentrated their efforts on programs designed to enhance physical improvements; while others emphasized both physical and social improvements.

*Public Relations Committee of Model City Department, *Model City Progress Report*, City of Houston, 1973, pp. 7, 14, and 15.

The previous discussion has been concerned with the functional aspect of Model Cities programming, the HUD planning model and its objectives, and the level and distribution of funds for programmatic and non-programmatic components. Another area for study is the extent of resident participation in the formulation of program objectives, program planning and activities, program implementation and evaluation, and citizen involvement in all phases of planning. In the following pages, attention will be devoted to measures of output or performance, citizen perceptions and attitudes relative to the Model Cities agencies, citizen involvement versus alienation, policy implications and guidelines for continuous programming.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE STRATEGY FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The determinants of the effectiveness of Model Cities citizen participation programs, as described in the HUD Planning Model, are: (1) involvement through membership on Model Cities program boards and subcommittees; (2) employment on the City Demonstration Agency staff and in other program - assisted projects; (3) involvement in the planning and project implementation activities of local agencies; (4) involvement in the writing and review of the various Comprehensive Demonstration Plans (CDP); (5) involvement in the eventual implementation and evaluation of CDP plans; (6) participation in definition and analysis of problems; (7) involvement in assignments of priorities and budgets; and (8) involvement in the formulation of overall program administrative structure. Each criterion represents a step in the ladder leading to viable resident participation in Model Cities programming. By design, citizen participation component programs were aimed toward developing strong, effective and articulate leadership in the neighborhoods served, having as its prime objective the involvement and representation of the poor at policy - making levels. Pursuant to this mandate, several questions are in order. To what extent have citizen participation programs been effective in inducing greater levels of involvement by citizens in Model Neighborhood areas? Has Model Cities, as a demonstration program, become an effective instrument for change in areas? Has the quality of life in the Model Neighborhoods improved to some degree since the initiation of the demonstration programs in selected cities? In the next several pages, an attempt will be made to supply data relative to these queries.

Another dimension to this research is how effective actual and perceived resident involvement has been in initiating social and physical policies geared toward changes in policy and the development of alternative courses of action.

For purposes of analysis, we conducted a survey of ten cities in the Southwest Region. The demonstration cities included Little Rock, Albuquerque, Tulsa, Lawton, San Antonio, Houston, Edinburg, Austin, New Orleans, and Waco. The study areas, selected at random, were principally those cities where Model Cities programs had been initiated. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample of administrative personnel and residents of Model Neighborhoods in each city. Respondents were selected at random from a predetermined sample for the target areas. The approximate size of the sample was 300 persons.

Additionally, for purposes of analysis, several "boundary" issues were examined in order to explore non-programmatic component operations, particularly program administration. The first issue related to the extent of control over planning and management by local agency officials. Other issues included how Model Neighborhood needs for improvement were identified; the extent of resident involvement in local governmental decision - making and whether any change had occurred; problems encountered in trying to facilitate resident participation; and the relative impact of output-measures on performance goals.

Program Administration. In most of the cities studied, the City Demonstration Agency is a regular city department, with the chief administrator or its executive director being directly responsible to the mayor or city manager. In Edinburg, Texas, for instance, the CDA Director is one of the City Manager's most trusted advisors and plays "an important role in the daily administration of the city as a whole." There are only slight variations in administrative structures for the cities, with such differentials most often reflecting the political climate or overall political structures of the areas.

City councils or city commissions usually have final decision - making authority in both planning and implementing Model Cities programs. Recommendations are entertained from Model Cities planning councils (often referred to as policy commissions, resident commissions, or similarly labeled resident participation structures). These organizations show common objectives and purposes. In a general way, they are designed to establish a line of communication between Model Neighborhood residents, the community, government, public and private agencies and organizations and to

direct the resources of these agencies and organizations toward effective programs designed to resolve problems and deal with the unmet needs of Model Neighborhood residents. Another objective of the resident participation structure is to work to improve and enrich existing programs that provide services so that they respond more effectively to the unique problems of the neighborhood. In Lawton, Oklahoma, for example, the citizen participation component organization sought to build a capacity among neighborhood residents for understanding the operation of various agencies and organizations and to further "the independence and self-direction of Model Neighborhood residents to help themselves." In Little Rock, Tulsa, and San Antonio, interviewers found a willingness and a desire on the part of residents for involvement in planning, monitoring, and supporting the implementation of program projects for their neighborhood areas. In fact, our survey indicated high levels of involvement by neighborhood residents in defining problem areas and delineating needs; but moderate-to-low influence in administrative decision - making in a majority of the cities.

In general, the actual organizational structure of the City Demonstration Agency for most cities consists of these major sections: planning, evaluation, program devleopment, and citizen participation. The number and variety of social and physical program components varied from city to city but — for the most part — there was a high degree of congruence in structures for program administration.

Control and Management. Within the confines of the data collected, we asked neighborhood residents and administrative persons questions relative to the hiring of personnel and appointments, and to rate various city officials and resident leaders relative to the influence they had in hiring, appointments, and setting priorities in the budget process. Among all groups and individuals listed, the mayor or city manager, the city council or commissions, and citizen groups were all listed as influentials. When asked who exercised the greatest influence, the mayors of all cities were considered to be most influential in hiring, in appointments made, and in setting budget priorities. Narrative comments by residents in Austin, Albuquerque, and Little Rock indicated some influence by business and industry in decisions made. Also, we found relatively strong differences in perceived control between council - manager and mayor - council cities in the area of budget priorities.

Local Governmental Decision-Making: Citizen Input. The primary concern of the study was the nature and kind of citizen response found in city government planning and management; the effect of the

HUD-sponsored Model Cities program on citizen participation as compared to prior experiences and problems encountered in trying to facilitate greater participation among residents in policy - making decisions. Our finding show indications of an increase in citizen involvement in all cities studied. In Edinburg and Albuquerque, there was greater involvement by residents in planning, evaluation, and program monitoring than in the other eight cities. A majority of the respondents for all cities stated that they had seen citizens become increasingly concerned about the affairs of local government. Despite this concern, however, there were few cities in which the level of political participation (mainly voting) had increased save Houston, Texas.

In Houston, there was considerable voter turnout in the Mayoral election in a run-off election where the incumbent Mayor did not seek re-election. Although voter apathy was prevalent in most areas of the cities, the Model Neighborhood residents played a major role in the narrow margin of victory received by Mayor Fred Hofheinz.

The nature of the participation involved attendance at public hearings, city council meetings, school board meetings, informal contacts with citizen groups, dissemination of information regarding programs and projects, general outreach work, budget hearings, and in some of the cities, direct involvement of residents and citizen groups and organizations in program development, evaluation, and implementation. Houston had less involvement in planning by residents than the other cities. Austin and Edinburg residents indicated the greatest amount of involvement in planning projects. There was moderate citizen input in major decisions for all cities. Such decisions usually included appointments, hiring of personnel, and budget priority setting. Input from cities was found to be more prevalent during the initial stages of problem analysis and need assessment, in planning and implementation rather than participation in such key areas as funding and re-funding; personnel policies, and the overall budgeting process.

Problems Encountered in Facilitating Participation. One of the major goals of the Model Cities program is to leave a legacy of leadership in the Model Neighborhood area. Efforts to initiate widespread citizen involvement in the program have proven to be somewhat difficult in many cities. The task of facilitating a working relationship or a shared partnership between Model Neighborhood residents, city officials, public and private agency representatives has been anything but smooth for cities in the Southwest Region. The difficulties encountered or barriers to participation were not

insurmountable. Particular problem areas perceived as barriers to citizen participation by the respondents in the survey included inadequate staff resources; indifference on the part of agency personnel concerning the plight of the poor; pressures by citizens for immediate relief from the social and physical conditions in their neighborhoods; inadequate time allocations for project planning, problem analysis, and need delineation; inadequate financial resources for some programs—particularly manpower development (this perception is based on the inaccuracy of planning data for problems such as unemployment); difficulty experienced in retaining citizen interests in projects which appear to move slower than anticipated; and the disinterest of some citizen groups agencies, and organizations. An additional problem found in some cities was the low retention rate for persons making up the citizen participation structure. This lack of job longevity tended to affect the stability of programs in some cities.

"During a year of planning and two years of execution, the Model Cities citizen participation structure was modified several times in Edinburg, Texas." In the second year, it was reported that "the CDA learned that when projects go into operation, services were offered, or building began to take shape, resident interest and willingness to participate increased..." "The leadership and participation — at the time of the interviews in the city — had become a continuing one rather than simply issue - oriented and sporadic."

"Resident training" has been very effective in stimulating citizen participation. Houston residents have been very active in resident training sessions. Seminars on HUD - sponsored programs were held in Tulsa, Oklahoma during 1972 as part of the training activities of the CDA in that city. The Target Area Action Group Inc. (TAAG) is, by Resolution, the Citizen Participation Component of Model Cities. The TAAG staff in Tulsa has the responsibility for organizing the Model Neighborhood residents; providing technical assistance and setting up training programs for the residents in efforts to increase their capabilities to provide input into Model Cities programs, by identifying problems, arriving at solutions and selecting alternatives. Although specifically related to the Tulsa program, these responsibilities generally reflect activities for the other nine cities.

One problem which surfaced in relation to facilitating citizen participation was one of adverse feelings concerning the program by existing agencies and groups. Our probing led us to consider relationships between professions, Model Neighborhood groups and other competing agencies and groups. Attempts were made to outline a theory of relationships or "agency linkages" and to develop the

properties of the linkage mechanisms by which they were interconnected. Relying heavily on the theory of organizational structures which limits the kind of linkages which can operate out of a given social agency, we attempted to categorize the procedures by which organizations typically relate to the larger community. The separable components were used as they key linkage variables, and are discussed in detail in the following section.

II. LINKAGE PROCEDURES AND AGENCY INVOLVEMENT

II. LINKAGE PROCEDURES AND AGENCY INVOLVEMENT

In order to provide a more in-depth analysis of efforts to involve residents in Model Cities programs, we developed a general framework to analyze the efforts of citizen participation organizations and their relationships to existing agencies. Utilizing Litwak's method of approach in his development of a linkage theory, we sought to examine procedures by which old and established organizations typically related to Model Cities citizen participation component organizations. As a matter of caution, it should be noted that the particular linkage procedures used do not cover all possibilities nor are they mutually exclusive. Eight empirical procedures were used to measure linkages between citizen participation components of Model Cities and other community agencies and organizations. These are briefly defined as follows:

1. *Urban Extension or Outreach Worker*. A professional worker engages in activities which take him outside the organization to the home or neighborhood of the people or groups he seeks to reach, and through establishment of a "close, friendly relationship," becomes involved in change effort.

2. *Decentralized Services*. These services occur where agencies try to move their physical facilities and professional staffs as close as possible to the homes of clients. The difference between this procedure and that of the urban extension worker or the "outreach" person is that it offers physical facilities and the professional remains in the facility or the technical boundaries of the organization. The more contemporary concept of "storefront services" implies decentralization and, in the case of the Model Cities program, you have a great deal of decentralization in efforts to provide social and physical programs for Model Neighborhood residents.

3. *Opinion Leader*. This procedure involves a professional working through local indigenous leaders or the Model Neighborhood leadership. This procedure has often been referred to as the opinion - leader approach. There has been heavy stress placed on this procedure in the Community Action Program and the Model Cities Program.

4. *Local Voluntary Association*. This procedure entails establishing communication with the communities and working closely with voluntary associations such as the parent - teacher organizations, Urban League, churches, and other social welfare agencies.

5. *Common Messenger*. Where a person serves a dual role as a

member of the Model Neighborhood organization and the bureaucratic organization, and passes messages by virtue of his common membership in both groups.

6. *Mass Media*. Use of mass media by the primary group, holding mass meetings, distributing leaflets, mailing, etc. This is the mass-media approach.

7. *Formal Authority*. The use of legal force or the threat of force in conjunction with the previously mentioned approach is referred to as formal authority.

8. *Delegated Function*. Efforts to reach a population by going through another organization which may already have access to this select population. Delegate function as a procedure is effective when used with previously described mechanisms.[7]

In addition the empirical linkage types described above, we also used variables which typify theoretical dimensions which underlie the linking procedures. In brief, four such dimensions were used in this study. These included: (1) *Selective listening and organizational initiative*. This dimension implies that some linkage procedures give initiative to organizations by making sure the message is heard; (2) *Selective interpretation and primary-group intensity*. This kind of relationship implies that a problem of selective interpretation exists, and that the more primary-group intensity a linking mechanism permits, the closer the social distance, while the less it permits, the farther the social distance; (3) *Complex messages and focused expertise*. This dimension is different from primary - group intensity by virtue of its concentration on the need for professional expertise in attempts to close social distance and bring about greater interactional contacts with clients; and (4) The final dimension of communication often stressed in group relationships is *scope*. This theorectical dimension stresses how many people a mechanism can reach. The linkage procedures previously discussed may vary in their capabilities to reach the service population or ordinary and voluntary association. Generally, mass media is considered one of the more powerful scopes.[8]

With certain linkage procedures and theoretical dimensions in mind, we examined citizen participation components in the ten cities. The respondents for the study were residents living in the Model Neighbor-

[7]See: Eugene Litwak, "An Approach to Linkage in 'Grassroot' Community Organizations," *Strategies of Community Organization* (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1970), pp. 126-137.

[8]*Ibid*.

hood areas. Using the same sample of over 300 residents from randomly chosen census tracts found within the boundaries of the Model Cities neighborhoods, inteviewers probed respondents for how frequently they participated in varied activities; whether certain linkages existed between citizen participation components and other agencies and organizations in the city and in what form; and dimensions underlying the linkage procedures. The interview schedule contained eight possible linkage procedures and four possible dimensions. The response format was a nine-category scale with each category corresponding to a frequency or frequency range (e.g., "None" up to "35 or more").

Multiple discriminant analysis was used in an attempt to identify patterns or dimensions of participation and organizational linkages on which the cities would differ and which also would differentiate between an activity with a high level of participation involving citizen participation components of Model Cities and other community agencies and organizations.

Discriminant analysis is basically a statistical technique which tells the investigator how to weight differentially a set of variables so that their weighted composite will maximally discriminate among two or more *a priori* groups. In this study the groups were the possible linking mechanisms and dimensions for organizational penetration; these dimensions representing participatory activities. We then determined the relative weights of the organizational linkage procedures, taking into account their relations among the dimensions themselves. An attempt was made to identify meaningful patterns of organizational linkages which would contrast the various dimensions of organizational penetration in terms of resident perceptions of status and role correlates of participation in Model Cities program activities.

Table 4 gives the basic data for the eight linkage procedures and the dimensions involved by city. The scores given are mean participation indexes. They are labeled this way because they are based on coded values representing rate - of - participation categories rather than actual rates. For all practical purposes, response categories were simply assigned coded values of 0 through 9, with corresponding relative weights for ranking the citizen participation component. Relative differences among groups and organizational penetration components are shown by plus for "positive direction" and minus for a "negative" discriminant score. An average participation score is determined by adding all individual scores for the organizational penetration components and dividing by eight (8).

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Average Ratings on Linking M
Penetration for Citizen P
By City

TYPE OF LINKING PROCEDURES-- BY PENETRATION DIMENSIONS	Albuquerque	Austin	Edinburg	Houston	Lawton
Urban Extension Worker	(4.4)	(3.4)	(4.3)	(3.7)	(4.5)
Organizational Initiative	7.5	5.0	5.1	5.7	6.2
Primary Group Intensity	5.1	3.1	4.9	2.6	5.2
Focused Expertise	3.1	3.9	5.7	5.2	4.2
Scope	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.4	2.3
Decentralized Services	(3.5)	(4.0)	(3.3)	(3.2)	(3.3)
Organizational Initiative	5.0	5.6	5.1	4.2	4.2
Primary Group Intensity	4.6	4.8	4.1	3.9	4.8
Focused Expertise	3.1	3.8	2.6	3.1	2.8
Scope	1.2	1.7	1.3	1.5	1.5
Opinion Leader	(3.5)	(3.7)	(3.6)	(3.2)	(3.4)
Organizational Initiative	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.2	4.3
Primary Group Intensity	3.3	3.8	3.8	2.8	3.3
Focused Expertise	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.2
Scope	1.6	1.9	1.6	1.6	1.9
Voluntary Association	(3.4)	(3.5)	(3.3)	(3.1)	(3.1)
Organizational Initiative	4.1	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.2
Primary Group Intensity	3.9	3.8	3.7	2.8	2.8
Focused Expertise	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.5	1.9
Scope	3.1	3.2	2.8	2.7	3.3
Common Messenger	(4.0)	(3.8)	(3.7)	(3.4)	(3.3)
Organizational Initiative	5.2	4.2	4.8	4.7	4.2
Primary Group Intensity	4.3	4.1	3.3	2.8	2.9
Focused Expertise	3.8	3.9	4.0	3.1	3.2
Scope	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.9
Mass Media	(3.3)	(4.0)	(3.7)	(3.6)	(3.6)
Organizational Initiative	4.3	5.6	5.6	5.7	4.8
Primary Group Intensity	2.6	3.8	3.3	3.7	3.5
Focused Expertise	3.3	3.7	3.1	2.7	3.4
Scope	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.1	2.7
Formal Authority	(4.4)	(4.7)	(4.8)	(5.0)	(4.6)
Organizational Initiative	6.9	7.4	8.1	7.4	8.1
Primary Group Intensity	3.8	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.3
Focused Expertise	4.0	4.1	4.0	5.6	3.8
Scope	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.1
Delegated Function	(4.4)	(4.6)	(4.2)	(4.3)	(4.3)
Organizational Initiative	6.7	7.1	6.5	6.5	6.7
Primary Group Intensity	4.3	5.2	4.3	4.3	5.1
Focused Expertise	3.8	4.1	3.9	3.9	3.7
Scope	2.7	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.8

*On a scale of 0-9, highest impact scores are 7-9; moderate, 5-6; low,
**Cumulative Total Score (Rating).

TOTAL ALL CITY AVERAGES

(1) Organizational Initiative - 5.47
(2) Primary Group Intensity - 3.82
(3) Focused Expertise - 3.56
(4) Scope - 2.29

e 4

echanisms and Organizational
rticipation Components
1972-73

SCORE (RATING)					
Little Rock	New Orleans	San Antonio	Tulsa	Waco	AVERAGE ALL CITIES (by Procedures)
(3.9)	(4.3)	(4.4)	(4.6)	(3.8)	
6.7	6.9	6.2	7.1	5.6	6.20
3.1	3.3	3.1	3.9	2.5	3.68
4.1	4.3	5.4	4.9	4.8	4.56
1.5	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.07
(3.2)	(3.3)	(3.3)	(3.2)	(3.4)	
5.1	5.0	5.0	5.1	5.6	4.99
3.9	4.5	4.6	4.2	4.2	4.36
2.7	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.5	2.71
1.2	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.38
(3.5)	(3.4)	(3.3)	(3.4)	(3.3)	
4.2	4.3	4.3	4.8	4.3	4.44
3.8	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.39
4.8	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.26
1.2	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.61
(2.9)	(3.4)	(3.4)	(2.6)	(2.9)	
4.1	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.22
2.1	3.7	3.8	2.9	2.8	3.23
1.9	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.9	2.14
3.4	3.5	3.6	1.7	2.9	3.02
(3.5)	(3.7)	(3.9)	(4.1)	(4.2)	
4.3	4.3	4.6	5.0	5.1	4.64
2.6	3.3	3.1	4.1	4.1	3.46
3.9	4.3	4.6	4.1	4.3	3.92
3.1	2.9	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.91
(3.7)	(3.9)	(3.9)	(3.7)	(3.6)	
4.8	5.1	5.1	4.8	5.1	5.09
3.8	4.1	3.9	3.8	3.1	3.56
3.2	3.4	3.3	3.1	3.1	3.23
2.8	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.1	2.87
(4.4)	(4.4)	(4.4)	(4.7)	(4.6)	
7.4	7.1	7.1	7.8	7.1	7.44
3.8	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.8	4.18
3.8	4.1	3.8	4.2	3.8	4.12
2.4	2.1	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.54
(4.1)	(4.2)	(4.4)	(4.0)	(3.9)	
7.1	7.1	7.1	6.1	6.1	6.70
5.2	5.2	5.2	4.2	4.1	4.71
2.6	2.8	3.9	4.1	2.8	3.56
1.6	1.7	1.5	1.6	2.7	1.93

er 4.9.

The multiple discriminant analysis, as shown in Table 5, produced some discriminant functions that were significant at the P> .01 level; others were not quite as significant at the .05 level; with the remaining discriminants considered not significant at the P< .10 level. Considering the positive and negative weights shown in Table 5, the first linkage mechanism, "Urban Extension Worker," showed high organizational penetration through the dimensions of organizational initiative, primary group intensity, and focused expertise; but low or negative weights in the scope or communications in group relationships for all cities.

Decentralized services appeared to have some significant impact on efforts to link and penetrate other community agencies and organizations, with the greatest strengths shown in the dimensions of organizational initiative and primary group intensity. Voluntary association and formal authority were other dimensions in which resident participation programs in Model Cities appeared to have some positive impact at linking their efforts to other more established organizations and other professionals in the cities studied. Specific agency involvement activities tended to substantiate this contention.

Agency Involvement

In virtually all of the cities, there was evidence of inter-agency activity and involvement. The neighborhood residents reported instances in which they had confronted City Hall with their problems, and had received cooperation in varying degrees with existing old, established and traditional agencies. Reports indicate that traditional agency staffs serve as expert consultants and staff participants (through cooperative arrangements) in developing component plans for specific program categories such as housing, health, education, community renewal, and other social services.

We asked a sample of Model Neighborhood residents to indicate the existing, established agencies involved in neighborhood affairs in their communities. In terms of priority, the top five included the Model City Agency, (75.1%); other social agencies, (65.4%); the local housing authority, (53.6%); youth groups (53.1%); and the local church (52.6%). Table 6 lists cooperating agencies in the light of the percentage of perceived involvement in neighborhood affairs and ranks the agencies on the basis of total percentage of "yes" responses. The percentages represent positive reponses. To get negative responses, subtract the percentage of "yes" responses from 100 percent.

Table 5

Discriminant Analysis of Type of Linking Mechanism and Organizational Penetration for all Model Cities Citizen Participation Components

TYPE OF LINKING MECHANISM*	(1) ORGANIZATIONAL INITIATIVE	(2) PRIMARY GROUP INTENSITY	(3) FOCUSED EXPERTISE	(4) SCOPE
Urban extension worker	+ .62	+ .36	+ .45	- .20
Decentralized services	+ .49	+ .43	- .27	+ .13
Opinion leader	+ .44	- .33	- .45	+ .16
Voluntary asssociation	+ .42	+ .32	- .21	- .30
Common messenger	- .46	- .34	- .39	- .29
Mass media	+ .50	- .35	+ .32	+ .28
Formal authority	+ .74	+ .41	- .41	+ .25
Delegated function**	- .67	+ .47	+ .35	- .19

*The discriminants are scaled for relative magnitudes of the loadings, by dividing each loading by the largest loading for that discriminant. For example, discriminant (1) ORGANIZATIONAL INITIATIVE makes the highest contribution; while (4) SCOPE is lowest in terms of contribution to linkage procedure.

**In this mechanism, the ultimate impact depends on the mechanisms used by the organization to which the function is delegated.

As indicated in Table 6, the Model City Agency in all cities was conceived to be more involved in community affairs than its traditional agency counterparts. Social agencies such as welfare organizations, higher educational institutions, juvenile and adult probation agencies, vocational rehabilitation (including the aged), and manpower agencies ranked second to Model Cities; while the local housing authority, churches, public schools, the local police and citizen improvement groups followed in the order mentioned. The older, established black agencies in the communities such as the NAACP and the Urban League ranked 13th and 14th in involvement in other agencies in the communities. This low rank is possibly due to the fact that in a majority of the cities studied, these organizations were not operating. Traditionally, these agencies have generally been located in larger urban areas, particularly the Urban League. In addition, Edinburg, Albuquerque, and San Antonio are cities with large Mexican - American populations, and this fact may have affected the position held by these agencies in the total hierarchy of agency involvement.

Overall reactions to "other" agency involvement in Model Cities programs were generally favorable. A distribution of responses to the question, "How do you feel about other agency involvement?" were distributed as follows:

REACTION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Favorable	128	33.5
Favorable	178	47.7
Neither	41	11.0
Unfavorable	10	2.7
Very Unfavorable	5	1.3
No Response	14	3.8
Total	376	100.0

In most of the cities studied, there was resident participation in planning for application grants, and city-wide agencies played active roles in initiating proposals for community improvement. There was evidence of some meaningful input and moderate feedback by existing social, educational, and welfare agencies in cities. In particular cities like Houston, Austin, Edinburg, and San Antonio we found widespread participation by expert consultants. The nature of the agency input included assistance in developing component plans and ideas on some experimental approaches for program implementation.

Only minimal conflict was reported betwen resident involvement components and traditional agencies in the planning process. Struggles

Table 6

Percentage Rank of Community Agency Involvement in Neighborhood Affairs in Selected Model Cities (Based on % of "yes" responses)

AGENCY	RANK	% "YES" RESPONSES
Model City Agency	1	75.1
Social Agencies*	2	65.4
Local Housing Authority	3	53.6
Youth Groups	4	53.1
Local Churches	5	52.3
Local Public Schools	6	52.0
Local Police	7	45.6
Local Citizen Improvement Group	8	42.4
Parent-Teacher Organizations	9	42.1
Local Service Organizations	10	40.2
Equal Opportunity Agency	11	39.1
NAACP	12	35.1
Urban League	13	28.4
Home Builders	14	20.1
Others	15	8.0

*Includes social service organizations such as welfare, higher education institutions, manpower, juvenile and adult probation.

for power and control, disagreements concerning program priorities, and confrontations regarding their respective prerogatives did take place between City Hall officials, the administration of the Model City Agency, and Model Neighborhood residents. In more than one instance, however, it was found that great interdependence existed between City Hall and residents. The implication here is that City Hall has often been pressured in the direction of responsiveness by virtue of repeated reminders of neglected needs in the communities served. This has been achieved primarily because there is some realization among all factions that they need each other. It is also clear that citizen organizations are incapable of carrying out a broad program like Model Cities alone; it is equally clear that local government must develop new relationships with people in neighborhoods if it is to address more effectively the needs of the total constituency.

Various citizen participation workshops sponsored by the Southwest Citizen Participation Conference may be partly responsible for this. The SCPC contributed to neighborhood awareness and perceptual - motivation through training workshops. Additional knowledge was disseminated about the functional organization of local government. There is some evidence to indicate that Model Neighborhood residents gained a greater sense of political efficacy by virtue of such training institutes and workshops.

Participation In Model Cities Programs

About half of the Model Neighborhood residents surveyed (49.59%) revealed some degree of participation in Model Cities programs in the various cities, but only 14 percent stated that their participation was on a regular basis. An equal proportion (14%) stated that they participated occasionally. The remaining portion of the respondents participated at least once and were rarely involved in any of the activities or Program components.

In addition to those respondents who specifically mentioned some form of participation, there was evidence to suggest an increase in resident participation in other forms of community activities such as public meetings and programs operating outside the Model City Agency. A perception of a majority of the respondents was that they believed that citizen involvement was on the increase in most aspects of local government, even in the case of voting participation.

The nature of citizen involvement ranged from registering complaints, requesting assistance, attending public meetings, serving on Neighborhood commissions, and voting in local elections. More

people indicated that they voted in neighborhood elections and various other political contests than any other category of activity. A breakdown of responses are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

A Percentage Distribution of Responses by Participation Category for All Cities

PARTICIPATION CATEGORY	Percent Responding "Yes"
Register Complaints About Community or City Services, Politics, and Civil Rights	18.7
Request Assistance From Councilmen or Aldermen	5.0
Attend Meetings or Public Hearings	10.5
Belong to Neighborhood Committee, Civic Group, or Improvement Association	9.4
Vote in Local Elections	22.8
Total	(56.4)*

*The remaining 43.6% responded "No" to the question regarding involvement or participation in the activities shown.

A majority of the respondents (56.4%) reported some citizen involvement. Over 43 percent stated that they were not directly involved in the particular activities given. Only in the case of voting did a substantial proportion of the respondents report rather consistent civic activity.

Residents were also probed for reactions to the impact of the citizen participation component program on local governmental problem-solving capacity and in terms of general program impact. Most of them (49.5%) felt that the program has had some impact on local governmental capability to deal with citizen problems and needs. A city-by-city comparison shows a variation in responses, with a range from "Great Impact" to "No Impact." Only 14 percent of those surveyed in Houston felt that Model Cities resident involvement had impact on increased citizen participation; 11.4 percent in Waco shared this sentiment; while 33 percent in Little Rock believed that citizen involvement in local government had increased as a result of the

HUD-sponsored program. Table 8 provides data by city on perceived Model Cities citizen participation impact on the overall level of involvement by citizens.

Table 8

The Impact of Model Cities Citizen Participation On Overall Increased Citizen Involvement According to Level of Influence and Percentage of Responses

CITIES	% Minority*	Staff Influence	Resident Influence	% Responding "Yes"
Edinburg	82.4	Low	High	83.3
Tulsa	14.8	Low	High	82.5
New Orleans	50.0	Low	High	69.4
Albuquerque	39.2	Low	Moderate	66.6
Lawton	19.2	Low	Moderate	65.2
San Antonio	60.8	Moderate	Moderate	45.4
Austin	27.3	Moderate	Moderate	44.4
Little Rock	25.9	High	Low	33.3
Houston	38.7	High	Low	14.0
Waco	28.9	High	Moderate	11.4

*For full population figures, see Appendices.

Residents in Tulsa, Edinburg, Lawton, New Orleans, and Albuquerque indicated that Model Cities resident involvement programs had "some impact" in greater numbers than those from the other cities in the Southwest Region. San Antonio and Austin showed moderate levels of influence in increased citizen participation. There was staff dominance in three cities, resident influence had little or low impact, and the percentage of respondents who perceived of the Model Cities program as having some impact was very low.

The staff-dominated cities, mainly Little Rock, Waco, and Houston, appeared to have politically ineffectual bases. The lack of resident influence in decision-making regarding some programs — not all — created planning situations where little resident input was possible and program implementation was difficult, according to reports from some

staff persons and residents in those cities. City Hall officials and consultants from other agencies provided assistance in preparing proposals for certain program components, with little or no assistance given by residents living in the Model Neighborhood areas. Most of the resident involvement was in the citizen participation components and during the earlier stages of planning which involved problem identification and need delineation. "When decisions were made to alleviate the conditions, resident input was very low," said one respondent in Houston. Concurring in this idea were residents from Little Rock and Waco.

Problems, Needs, and Issues

In an attempt to assess basic problems and issues relating to participation and questions of authority and power, we probed for barriers to participation and conflicts involving alternative choices over Model Cities component programs. In the order of importance, particular problems mentioned inlcuded: (1) inadequate staff and funds; (2) maintenance of adequate concern and interest in neighborhood problems by citizen groups and other voluntary organizations; (3) specific delineation of neighborhood needs and priorities; (4) the inconsistency of needs as perceived by city officials and those perceived by residents; (5) facilitating community acceptance of plans; and (6) controlling community programs and projects.

Values, ranging from a high of "5" to a low of "1" were assigned to the problems listed, using a five-point scale. An assigned value of "5" symbolized a significant problem and "1" equals no significant problem. The distribution of responses is included in Table 9.

In many ways, the problems or barriers to citizen participation shown in Table 9 were related to some issues and shortcomings inherent in project operations and mechanisms for involving residents. "Issues" were defined as conflict involving alternative choices between Model Neighborhood residents and other staff and/or community persons. We were primarily concerned with questions relative to authority and power and their effects on planning and management. Paramount among issues in all cities were questions concerning whether to permit strong central leadership by citizen advisory committees, priority setting, debating alternative plans, and evaluative stages in planning. Most respondents favored earlier involvement by citizen groups in the initial planning stages and the setting of community priorities. The residents from the larger cities

expressed the desire for more feedback from program administrators on the effects of programs and projects in Model Neighborhoods. The lack of continuous monitoring of programs made it difficult for the citizen to perceive program impact in the absence of feedback from program administrators.

Table 9

Factors Associated with Problems of Increased Citizen Participation

FACTORS	Average Rating for All Ten (10) Cities*
A. Inadequate Staff and Funds	4.6
B. Maintenance of Adequate Concern and Interest in Neighborhood Problems by Citizen Groups and Voluntary Organizations	4.5
C. Delineating Neighborhood Needs and Priorities	4.4
D. Facilitating Community Acceptance of Plans	3.8
E. Efforts to Control Community Projects and Programs	3.7
F. Lack of Meaningful Communication	2.8
G. Maintenance of Local Government Interest	2.4

*Average scores based on five-point scale where "5" equals significant problem and "1" equals no significant problem.

The perceived needs of communities were closely aligned with degrees of participation in Model Cities programs. A list of priorities for neighborhoods in cities was developed. Each Model Neighborhood respondent was asked to list the most important needs of the community. Table 10 shows "Better Employment Opportunities" as the highest priority in Model Neighborhoods, with "Improved Housing," "Better Health Facilities," and "Street Improvements" as issues ranking second, third, and fourth (respectively) on the list of priorities for neighborhoods in cities located in the Southwest Region. Crime and delinquency, education, recreational facilities and human relations were also listed as important problems which needed to be solved.

Table 10

Perceived Needs of Model Neighborhood Residents in Order of Priority for Ten Cities (1973)

NEED*	AVERAGE SCORE**	OVERALL RANK
Better Employment Opportunities	24	(1)
Improved Housing	18	(2)
Improved Health Facilities	13	(3)
Improved Streets	13	(4)
Crime and Delinquency	13	(5)
Improved Schools	12	(6)
More Recreational Facilities	12	(7)
Interracial or Human Relations	4	(8)
Better Credit Facilities	4	(9)
Tenant-Landlord Problems	4	(10)

*Other NEED categories included: Family Living, Organizing Social Functions, and Consumer Problems.

**Based on average responses for ten cities.

These issues have a familiar ring to them in low-income areas of large urban centers. The Model Cities programmatic components parallel the needs as defined and ranked by residents. Degrees of resident participation in various program activities underscore their expressed interest and concern for the needs as perceived by the respondents. We measured the level or frequency of participation in social and physical activities by using a scale ranging from "regularly" to "once." The frequency and percentage distribution of responses show a pattern of participation similar to the ordering of needs perceived by Model Neighborhood residents. Activities which received the greatest interest and participation by residents were better employment opportunities, improving housing, streets, schools, and health facilities.

Using cumulative totals and percentages, it was found that almost 15 percent of the respondents indicated that they participated in activities geared toward finding better employment opportunities. Of this total, 15.6 percent indicated that they participated on a regular basis; with a somewhat smaller proportion (14.7 percent) indicating that they usually participated in efforts to find better employment opportunities

for themselves and others. "Better employment opportunities," as an activity category, received high priority as did "improving housing," "street improvements," "improving health facilities," and "improving schools." Table 11 reveals data based on a distribution of responses according to the degree of participation in community activities.

In addition to the identification of important issues, needs, problems, and barriers to resident involvement in local government and neighborhood planning, the planning environment was examined to determine the degree of demonstrated and sustained interest by local public officials in each city studied. Factors previously tested and examined were used to assess the nature of the planning environment.[9]

Pertinent factors used in assessing the planning environment included the nature of resident involvement in Model Neighborhood program activities, with the main focus on decision-making, the degree of staff influence in project planning and resident input in decision-making. An assessment of resident influence was based on interviews with residents and reports by citizen participation components for the cities. We used three variables in the interviews conducted with staff persons and citizens. These were degree of staff dominance in decisions made; staff influence (where decisions are shared), and resident influence (with citizen input). We probed also for evidence of internal cohesion related to organizational stability and accepted resident leadership; while the latter concept was measured in terms of the degree to which established community leaders accepted resident proposals, critiques, and other inputs and incorporated them into decisions affecting the neighborhood areas. An *Agency Information Schedule* was designed to elicit pertinent data on organizational characteristics and the degree of consensus among residents and program administration officials and city administrators concerning proposals and other inputs into the decision-making process.

In many of the cities there was evidence of little cohesiveness and integration in resident groups, thereby thwarting any strong influence or inputs into decision-making. In Houston, for example, many of the residents living in Model Neighborhoods openly expressed the belief that decisions were made by professionals or experts contracted to study and evaluate the programs; adding, that these persons had little

[9]U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "The Model Cities Program: A Comparative Analysis of Ten Cities of Second Planning Years," Office of Community Development, Evaluation Division, 1973, pp. 32-33.

Table 11

Degrees of Participation in Community Activities By Model Neighborhood Residents in All Cities

COMMUNITY ACTIVITY CATEGORY	DEGREES OF PARTICIPATION										PERCENT OF TOTAL*
	Regularly		Usually		Occasionally		Rarely		Once		
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Organizing Social Functions	6	1.5	4	1.5	7	2.5	3	2.2	2	2.6	1.91
Bettering Credit Facilities	9	2.3	6	2.3	4	1.4	5	3.6	2	2.6	2.25
Working for Recreational Facilities	21	5.3	22	8.5	21	7.5	13	9.4	8	10.7	7.38
Crime and Delinquency	32	8.0	24	9.3	24	8.5	13	9.4	8	10.8	8.77
Improving Housing	70	17.6	36	13.9	45	16.0	18	13.0	12	16.0	15.72
Improving Streets	50	12.6	25	9.7	32	11.4	19	13.8	11	14.7	11.90
Tenant-Landlord Problems	13	3.3	10	3.9	11	3.9	6	4.4	1	1.3	3.56
Family-living	17	4.3	8	3.1	8	2.9	5	3.6	3	4.0	3.56
Improving Schools	48	12.0	29	11.2	29	10.3	17	12.3	5	6.7	11.12
Consumer Problems	9	2.3	6	2.3	2	0.7	2	1.5	0	0.0	1.65
Improving Health Facilities	48	12.0	34	13.1	36	12.8	13	9.4	8	10.7	12.07
Code Enforcement	3	0.7	4	1.5	6	2.1	3	2.2	0	0.0	1.39
Interracial or Human Relations	10	2.5	13	5.0	14	5.0	5	3.6	3	4.0	3.90
Better Employment Opportunities	62	15.6	38	14.7	42	15.0	16	11.6	12	16.0	14.76
TOTAL		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	99.92

*Frequencies and percentages represent cumulative responses to most questions.

knowledge of the needs and desires of the people affected. Reference was made to a study conducted to determine needs and priorities for the area. One respondent stated, "the researchers were hired by the City Administration to tell them that 'physical improvements' were more important to our neighborhood than social services." This kind of reaction was not prevalent in all cities, however.

The degree of staff dominance, staff influence, and resident influence varied from city to city, and no particular paradigms were discernible from the data accumulated and analyzed. There were instances in which resident constituency influence had grown to impressive proportions while in other cases resident influence was more subdued and limited to fluctuating issues of general interest to their immediate neighborhoods.

The evidence of conflict which existed in some cities was limited to struggles between residents and City Hall rather than resident organizations and the traditional social-welfare agencies. Inter-agency activities and cooperation were at a high level in all cities. Community turbulence was almost non-existent or at a minimum in this respect.

In the smaller cities such as Edinburg, Lawton, and Albuquerque — all of which have large minority populations, except possibly Lawton — the level of resident influence and involvement extended beyond the component program of Model Cities to power bases influential enough to affect substantive decisions of local government. In other cities such as Austin, San Antonio, New Orleans, and Little Rock, resident involvement reflected the functional areas and activities of the City Demonstration Agency. There were few instances in which input into policy decisions was made by citizen participation component groups. In short, federally-mandated citizen participation components in the ten cities did not reveal any distinct strategies for changes in power and decision-making; yet, there were examples of impressive power gains at the neighborhood level in cities where there had been confrontations with city administrations.

When we examined the federally-sponsored citizen participation program of Model Cities, it was found that wide variation existed in total impact or performance outputs.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

The relationship between planning and citizen participation is a crucial consideration in policy development and in assessing demonstration programs as strategies for change. The application of the systems approach to an analysis of Model Cities programming is a

logical procedure for determining program impact. Through a multi-step planning process, resident participation in Model Cities was described and assessed. Major areas of concern included: (1) the level and extent of involvement in problem identification, need delineation, and goal-setting; (2) the extent and level of involvement in plan formulation and the setting of objectives; (3) the level of involvement in program administration and project activities; (3) the extent and level of involvement in plan evaluation and analysis; (5) the level of involvement in plan implementation; and (6) in continuing project planning and funding. These issues were expressed as operational variables in project demonstration, planning and implementation.

A primary consideration in this study was the relative impact of program objectives and the extent to which the goals of citizen participation were achieved. To this end, focus was placed on certain output measures of performance and the interface between policy development, planning and citizen participation from the perspective of the HUD Planning Model for Model Cities. A major concern, in an overall sense, was to explore the model's feasibility for inducing social change and improving the quality of life for residents living in Model Neighborhood Areas of selected cities.

Measures of Performance Output and Achievement

Inputs are not difficult to quantify in terms of per unit dollar costs. Where difficulty does arise, however, is when one attempts to evaluate and quantify program outputs — the impact or effect on problems and the achievement of goals and objectives of programs. Assigning dollar values to desired "program outputs such as improved housing conditions, reduced severity and incidence of poverty, improved health, citizen involvement, manpower projects and education requires measures which reflect social as well as monetary values."[10] Through a systematic analysis, some ideas along these lines are examined to determine their usefulness in assessing program impact.

Systems Analysis and Citizen Participation

An evaluative model was developed which defines the several processes of citizen participation and the incorporation of these processes into planning methodology and decision-making for Model Cities programs. The City Demonstration Agency (CDA) is viewed as

[10]Ira M. Robinson (ed.), *Decision-Making in Urban Planning* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, Inc., 1972), p. 447.

a subsystem which interacts strongly with the larger metropolitan system. The larger governmental system delivers services to the total population of an area; while the Model Cities agency administers to the needs of a select constituency, and it provides services based on a delineation of needs generated by interaction between residents and professional planners. Also, the CDA helps to determine the pattern of social and physical development necessary for the satisfaction of basic needs deemed important for improving the quality of life for Model Neighborhood residents.

Recognizing the demonstration program as a subsystem of the metropolitan system, it is logical to examine the planning and implementation of program objectives from a system viewpoint. In developing a model for evaluating the quality of citizen input and overall measures of performance, several criteria were considered, including the following:

(P_1) Membership on Model City Program boards and subcommittees

(P_2) Employment in the City Demonstration Agency (CDA) and other projects

(P_3) Involvement in the planning and project implementation activities of local agencies

(P_4) Involvement in the writing and review of various Comprehensive Demonstration Plan (CDP) components

(P_5) Involvement in eventual implementation and evaluation

(P_6) Definition and analysis of problems

(P_7) Assignments of priorities and budgets

(P_8) Formulation of overall program administrative structure

According to published guidelines for demonstration cities programs, residents are expected to play an active role in the aforementioned aspects of the planning process. Additional criteria were used to determine the level of resident involvement in each of the eight phases used as systems-design variables or parameters for citizen involvement.

In an attempt to assess the extent of resident participation in all areas, residents in the ten cities included in the survey were asked to rate their level of involvement on a five-point scale where "5" equals *significant* and "1" equals *no* participation. Average scores were computed on the basis of ratings assigned by citizens and administrative persons alike. Using combined scores of a representative sample of citizens in each of the cities, we were able to shed some light on the impact of citizen input on programs, activities, funding, implementation of

objectives, and evaluation of overall program performance.

In examining the effectiveness of citizen participation in Model Cities programs, we can focus on actual progress towards objectives and the type and amount of program inputs by citizens which made such progress possible. Emphasis is placed on output measures or measures of performance which are not readily quantifiable or cannot be easily translated into monetary values. Performance output measures to which we direct our attention, then, reflect social more than monetary values.

Several distinctive patterns of citizen participation in Model Cities emerged in the course of our analysis of the data. Inspection of the findings reveals no substantial relationship between the size of a city and the level of citizen participation. As shown in Table 12, the total impact rating for large and small cities was about the same, with a 3.26 impact score on a 5-point scale for large cities and a 3.28 total impact score for small cities.

If we examine the trends to locate the participatory function or output performance measure where citizen input is greatest, it is found that Model Neighborhood residents played a more active role in defining and analyzing problems and needs of their areas. As indicated in the matrix shown in Table 12, Edinburg, Tulsa, Albuquerque, New Orleans, and San Antonio had significant citizen involvement at early stages of the planning process. The lowest level of participation in identifying problem conditions and assessing their extent and severity occurred in Little Rock, Arkansas. All cities in the Southwest Region appeared to have above average participation in program implementation and evaluation.

Our model for measuring program impact extended into areas such as membership on boards and subcommittees, employment in City Demonstration Agency and other projects, writing and reviewing comprehensive demonstration plans, and assignment of priorities and budgets. Our data show that the area where greatest impact was shown involved problem analysis and need delineation, with an overall impact score of 4.0. Others, in the order of importance, included membership on boards and subcommittees, (3.6); formulation of the overall program administrative structure, (3.6); implementation and evaluation, (3.4). There was less citizen involvement in such areas as writing and reviewing comprehensive demonstration plans, planning and implementation of project activities. Average citizen participation took place in priority setting, funding and refunding projects, and employment with the CDA and other projects.

In order to better understand individual perceptions of resident

Table 12

Measures of Output Performance of Citizen Participation Programs in Ten Cities*

OBJECTIVE VARIABLE	PARTICIPATORY FUNCTION	Austin(A)	Albuquerque (B)	Edinburg(B)	Houston(A)	Lawton(B)	Little Rock (B)	San Antonio (A)	Waco(B)	New Orleans (A)	Tulsa(A)	TOTAL IMPACT (Av.)
P_1	Membership on Boards and Subcommittees	3.5	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.5	3.2	3.6	3.4	3.6
P_2	Employment on CDA and other projects	3.4	3.4	3.7	3.3	3.1	2.7	2.7	3.2	3.6	3.7	3.3
P_3	Planning and project implementation activities	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.8	2.8
P_4	Writing and Review of Comprehensive Demonstration Plan	2.6	2.3	3.2	2.7	2.5	2.9	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.4	2.7
P_5	Implementation and Evaluation	3.4	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.0	3.3	3.7	3.6	3.4
P_6	Definition and Analysis Problems and Needs	3.8	4.3	4.6	4.2	3.7	2.8	4.0	3.8	4.2	4.3	4.0
P_7	Assignment of priorities and budgets	2.9	3.9	3.4	3.2	2.7	2.4	3.0	2.8	3.2	2.4	3.0
P_8	Formulation of overall Program Administrative Structure	3.5	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.2	3.4	3.3	3.8	3.5	3.7	3.6
	TOTAL IMPACT (Av.)	3.2	3.4	3.6	3.3	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.3	

COMBINED IMPACT (Av.): (A)Large Cities 3.26; (B)Small Cities 3.28.

* "5" equals high; "3-4", moderate; and "0-2", low.

involvement in Model Cities, respondents were given the opportunity to list their own ideas about the extent to which citizen involvement in local government had changed, the effects of Model Cities on citizen participation as compared to previous years; and problems experienced in attempts to facilitate resident involvement in the planning process. The citizens in each city expressed the belief that citizen participation had increased since the advent of Model Cities. This change or increase occurred in the form of greater attendance at public meetings, voting in local elections, and public hearings where neighborhood leaders articulate the needs and desires of citizens to city and county government officials. Over half of the respondents in all cities felt that some changes had occurred in their neighborhoods as a result of increased participation in local government, with the greatest credit for the changes attributable to the City Demonstration program despite the fact that Model Cities program activities are generally confined to relatively small areas.

When asked to explain what factors they considered to be responsible for increased citizen participation, respondents listed advisory roles, informal contacts, and staff assistance as the more viable participatory functions. The lack of adequate feedback concerning the effects of programs and projects was listed as the major barrier to full participation in all aspects of Model Cities planning and implementation. Further reflection along these lines, however, suggests that administrative personnel of Model Cities generally favored citizen involvement in the initial planning stages, including such participatory functions as priority setting, goal formulation, but believed that once these priorities had been decided and provisions made for implementation, actual control and decision-making should be left to the administrator of the agency. This suggestion, apart from its salutary tone, poses a threat to the demonstration program as a strategy for change. Such attitudes become liabilities which threaten the effectiveness of a broad commitment demonstration program and would violate, in many ways, the intent and objectives of the HUD planning model.

Admittedly, there is some contrast in the attitudes of agency officials and citizen respondents. The model employed in the study for measuring citizen participation program effectiveness is not comprehensive enough to reach broad conclusions regarding total program impact. We may assert, however, that leadership and participation in Model Cities in the Southwest Region is on-going rather than sporadic and issue-oriented. The potency of this pattern of participation is conveyed when reports from the various citizen

participation components are examined. Evidence of this may also be seen in the fact that a Model Neighborhood resident who has been active in the Edinburg program since its inception ran for the City Commission. Also in this same city, Model Neighborhood residents serve on the Urban Renewal Board, on the Local Housing Authority Board, and actively participate in the affairs of schools and other community organizations as well.

In summation, we have evaluated the strategy for involving neighborhood residents in affairs which affect their lives. The strategy embodied various aspects of the Model Cities planning process, including problem identification, establishment of goals and objectives, priorities, program and project development. In such a planning environment, the residents of the neighborhood share a partnership with professionals in determining what problems exist, what goals need to be established, and what needs must be met. An overall assessment of this strategy seems to indicate an increase in citizen involvement in neighborhood affairs and local government in urban areas. Perhaps the most significant output or achievement is the establishment of linkages between residents, city government, public and private organizations — a tremendous step forward for participatory government in urban areas. As participation by residents increases, power emerges and alienation may begin to disintegrate.

III. POWER AND ALIENATION: DIMENSIONS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

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A fundamental consideration which must be taken into account in analyzing resident involvement and participation in decision-making practices is the extent to which people feel alienated from neighborhood affairs and their local government. Groups seeking to broaden their scope of involvement in decision-making processes and those who advocate a more equitable distribution of power have visions of social arrangements which would induce major changes in institutional policies and practices. This process of involvement would provide viable alternatives to existing bureaucratic procedures at local government levels. For the Demonstration Cities program to become an instrument of change, reform would have to come about in ways that would be mutually acceptable to those in power and to those seeking a more equitable distribution of power.

The ultimate test of the significance of programs of citizen participation is whether both short-term and long-term, large-scale policy planning can actually be influenced by the newly aroused constituency. Three factors make a critique of resident involvement a key to the agency implementation process. One factor relates to whether ideas, once proven workable for greater resident involvement, will be retained once the program is terminated. Another factor is whether sufficient inroads into the existing system's machinery have been made so that shared decision-making is possible. Additionally, there is concern as to whether neighborhood organizations feel that they are a part of the decision-making structure for Model Cities and the City Administration or whether feelings of alienation from government predominate the leadership in neighborhoods served by the demonsration program. An equally important question is how successful the program has been in bringing about major policy changes in the face of increasing bureaucratic procedures by some institutions. A very crucial factor underlying the objectives of Model Cities is whether success in citizen participation on a small scale will become a mechanism through which substantial change will take place on a broader scale, thereby inducing desired institutional change.

Dimensions of Power and Alienation

A basic premise in this analysis is that alienation results from disengagement in community activities and the lack of power to

command the events of one's life. It symbolizes a "personal sense of powerlessness felt by low-income people and is a major cause of their isolation, normalness, and apathy."[11] In this paper, the concept of alienation is treated as a variable which could affect the level of neighborhood involvement in Model Cities programs. Viewed as an emergent response to social structure and inaction, alienation is defined as a combination of perceived lack of power in neighborhood affairs and distrust of those who hold power positions in city government, the Model Cities programs, and various other institutions. It is, as Thompson and Horton explain, "a reaction to perceived relative inability to influence or control one's social destiny."[12]

In the analysis presented here, three components of alienation are considered: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. The concept of *powerlessness* implies separation from effective control over one's economic destiny; of his helplessness; of his being used for purposes other than his own. *Normlessness*, derived from Durkheim's concept of anomie, also implies a feeling of separation from group standards; a painful uneasiness or anxiety, a feeling of pointlessness or that no certain goals exist. *Social isolation* can also be traced to Durkheim's concept of anomie. It also implies a feeling of separation — "apartness" from society. Items on a scale which measures social isolation reflect the degree of commitment to popular culture.

On the surface it appears that as a definitional matter, there is some congruence in the meaning of the three basic components of alienation. However, Seeman contends that the "isolation version of alienation clearly carries a meaning different" from the other two components of alienation; yet, in depicting the adaptations that individuals make to the situation, one assumes that this adaptation (rebellion) pattern leads one outside the environing social structure.[13] Merton sees this kind of alienation in the sense of normlessness, in which "the individual innovates culturally disapproved means to achieve certain goals."[14] In assessing the relationship between city size and alienation, we confined measures of association to powerlessness and normlessness. In other cases, all three components were used.

On the basis of theoretical formulations found in empirical works on

[11]Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," *Social Forces, V. 38 (March, 1960), pp. 190-95.*

[12]*Ibid.*

[13]See: Melvin Seaman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783-91.

[14]*Ibid.*

the subject, Dean's Alienation Scale was used in this study to determine attitudes and feelings associated with resident participation in Model Cities programs. Conceptualized as a response to social structure in action, the index of alienation can be appropriately associated with "objectively-determined relative powerlessness in a community."[15] By virtue of this perceived association, it is our contention that the level of citizen participation has a relationship to the degree of alienation felt by the residents. It is further asserted that there is a significant relationship between selected background factors (income, occupation, education, and age), citizen participation and the degree of alienation.

In order to determine what relationships existed between the several correlates of alienation, a scale consisting of nine powerlessness items, six normlessness items, and nine social isolation items was used.[16] These three subscales were combined to yield an average alienation score for the twenty-four (24) items. Correlation coefficients between alienation and five background factors were also computed. A city-to-city measurement for alienation was also conducted for comparative purposes.

Table 13 shows the relationship between city size and alienation, using two components or measures for determining whether residents feel alienated from the Model Cities program planning. These measures were confined to attitudes and feelings about the agency rather than the community or city government. The data indicate that a larger percentage of respondents in cities, irrespective of size, feel less alienated from Model Cities, the percentage difference ranging from about 13 to 20 percent, depending upon the measures of values. The statistical association between alienation and city size is of moderate strength.

Use of the scale for general alienation which consists of thee components, permitted us to gain insight into the relation between alienation, education, income, and age. The findings indicate substantial association between alienation components and at least two background factors of Model Neighborhood residents when total alienation scores for all cities are considered. As shown in Table 14, the strength of the correlation is moderately positive as in the case of occupation and all four alienation components. The same held true in the case of age when measured by social isolation. A general overview of alienation according to age revealed that younger Model Neighborhood residents showed a higher degree of alienation than

[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*

Table 13

Size of City and Level of Alienation From Model Cities

CITY SIZE**	VALUE	PERCENTAGE Low to Moderate	High	N
Small - I	P*	63	37	269
	N	50	50	285
		P. .01		
		Gamma .27		
Medium - II	P	64	36	358
	N	44	56	203
		P. .01		
		Gamma .27		
Large - III	P	64	36	269
	N	49	51	256
		P. .001		
		Gamma .30		

*P - Powerlessness; N - Normlessness

**Under 250,000-small; 250,000-500,000 pop.-medium; over 500,000 in population-large.

Table 14

Correlation Coefficients Between Alienation and Four Background Factors (N=369)

COMPONENTS	Education	Occupation	Income	Age
Powerlessness	−.25	.22	−.26	.13*
Normlessness	−.24	.11*	−.29	.004 (NS)
Social Isolation	−.32	.23*	−.23	.33
Alienation	−.32	.25	−.32	.17*

*Significant at .05 Level of Confidence; all others significant at the .01 Level of Confidence.

older residents. Correlation coefficients as per age groups indicated that for respondents in the 21-29 age group, the correlation coefficient was r = .34 for total alienation and r = .46 for social isolation; 30-54 years of age, r = .26 and r = .39 for the same components; and for respondents 55 years of age and over, the coefficient correlation was r = .23 for total alienation and r = .25 for social isolation.

On an average, residents in Model Neighborhoods felt alienated from their occupations and other age groups. The difference appeared largest with respect to estrangement from occupation. This possibly reflects the occupational structure of the different communities and, it may stem in part from minority group recognition that discrimination limits choices and avenues to upward mobility in the occupational structure despite legislation to the contrary. Table 15 outlines responses by city, and shows the effect of each component of alienation on socio-economic background factors of the respondents.

Table 15

Coefficient Correlations for Total Alienation Scores and Background Factors for Ten Cities in the Southwest Region (N=369)

CITY	Education*	Occupation*	Income*	Age*
Tulsa	−.356	.502	−.174	.314
Lawton	−.550	.181	−.512	.149
San Antonio	−.303	.194	−.437	.246
Houston	−.165	.309	−.041	.266
Edinburg	−.337	.400	−.291	.074
Austin	−.188	.573	−.632	.267
Litdle Rock	−.073	.073	−.208	−.115
Albuquerque	−.445	.310	−.288	.413
Waco	−.073	.309	.058	.206
New Orleans	.121	.079	−.131	−.255

*The measure of association is Yule Q. The values of X^2 for all relationships for any correlation exceeding .30 is significant at the .05 Level of Confidence.

It is not advisable to base a conclusion on the data as shown. As was indicated in the Seeman article, generally low orders of alienation raise some basic theoretical questions. If one takes into account increased levels of participation as revealed through findings cited

earlier, it may be that long-range expectations of indigenous organizers of earlier community action projects are approaching fruition as evidenced by induced changes which have occurred in some grassroots organizations. Another explanation may be that "alienation," as a concept, is more situationally relevant than personality-related. One aspect of this explanation is that neighborhood groups develop and mature as a result of their participation in neighborhood-based activities, and part of this maturity is reflected in relationships developed with local governmental officials and the social changes other community-based organizations strive to achieve. Effective social action reduces the sense of powerlessness where disillusionment formerly existed.

If it is assumed that alienation results from disengagement in community activities, then high correlations for the resident populations in ten Model Cities would run counter to a basic objective of the Citizen Participation Component of the federally-mandated Demonstration Cities program. We did not find this to be the case. Although alienation is found to have some relationship to selected socioeconomic variables, the correlation is not strong enough to imply a high degree of significance as noted in previous tables. Coefficient correlation scores range from moderately-positive to negligible to a somewhat moderate-negative direction. Coefficient correlations for all cities are not substantially-positive when compared with degrees of alienation as evidenced by scores on any of the four social correlates for individual cities. The Chi Square test of significance, interpreted at the .05 Level of Confidence and Yule's Coefficient of Association were utilized in these statistical computations and analyses. Our findings compare favorably with those of Seeman and Bell.[17] The combined index of alienation indicates that social conditions are related to alienation. Other factors such as occupation, age, and income also tend to be related to alienation, but the coefficients of association vary from one social background factor to another.

A perusal of data relating to the functional areas of citizen participation lends some credibility to findings relative to powerlessness and social isolation in low-to-moderate income neighborhoods engaged in social and physical improvements. Yet, caution must be taken in generalizing on the findings for individual cities across the nation. In some of the cities, resident participation in Model Cities is moderate; in other cities, the high degree of participation and involvement of Model Neighborhood residents in

[17]See: Wendell Bell, "Anomia, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure," *Sociometry*, 20 (June, 1957), pp. 105-16, as cited in Seeman, *op. cit.*, p. 757.

Model Cities activities is extremely impressive. Edinburg, Texas, is an example of a city with a high level of citizen involvement.

We have provided a rather vivid portrayal of functional areas of resident involvement as program performance based on requirements of the HUD planning model. The gradations in citizen involvement for the various cities compare favorably with an idea discussed by previous scholars. The idea that "there was little indication that neighorhood participation was more than perfunctory in some cities, but in others there were impressive degrees of substantive power . . . power won in a vigorous contest with the city administration," appears to be sound.[18]

On a whole, residents have been actively involved in Model Cities project activities. Whether this involvement has induced institutional change and promoted programs of more effective service delivery are questions still left unresolved. To be sure, increased citizen participation results from impetus provided by the component program of Model Cities. New levels of awareness of citizen needs were found in cities in the Southwest Region. What is debatable is whether the results of citizen participation program activities and involvement of indigenous leadership can be employed in the total agency policy-making process to improve program outcomes and services. Finally, at the heart of the total effort is the problem of developing a system within institutions where social change can be promoted and realized rather than stifled and postponed.

[18]See: Roland L. Warren, "Model Cities First Round: Politics, Planning, and Participation," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 35 (July, 1969), pp. 245-52.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table 16

Population Figures by Race for Model Cities of the Southwest Region

CITIES	TOTAL*	WHITE* (Incl. Spanish Surnamed)	BLACK*	OTHERS*	SPANISH SURNAMED**	WHITE		NON-WHITE***	
						N	%	N	%
Albuquerque, N. M.	243,751	233,154	5,425	5,172	85,032	148,122	60.8	95,629	39.2
Austin, Texas	264,499	231,570	30,455	2,474	39,399	192,171	72.7	72,328	27.3
Edinburg, Texas	17,163	16,975	78	110	13,962	3,013	17.6	14,150	82.4
Houston, Texas	1,232,802	904,889	316,551	11,362	149,727	755,162	61.3	477,640	38.7
Lawton, Oklahoma	74,470	63,049	8,441	2,980	2,881	60,168	80.8	14,302	19.2
Little Rock, Arkansas	132,483	99,087	33,074	322	966	98,121	74.1	34,362	25.9
New Orleans, Louisiana	593,471	323,420	267,308	2,743	26,408	297,012	50.0	296,459	50.0
San Antonio, Texas	654,153	597,723	50,041	6,389	341,333	256,390	39.2	397,763	60.8
Tulsa, Oklahoma	331,638	287,046	35,277	9,315	4,649	282,397	85.2	49,241	14.8
Waco, Texas	85,326	75,923	18,955	448	8,181	67,742	71.1	27,584	28.9

*U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, Final Report.

**U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report.

***Blacks, Spanish Surnamed, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, all others.

Appendix B

Table 17

Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics for Model Cities (In Percentages)

ITEM	TOTAL	Tulsa	Lawton	San Antonio	Houston	Waco	Edinburg	Austin	New Orleans	Little Rock	Albuquerque
1. AGE OF RESPONDENT (N=373)											
Under 21	5.9	2.5	2.2	13.6	-	-	5.6	7.4	5.6	5.9	18.7
21-29 years	29.8	15.0	23.9	31.8	16.0	54.3	55.6	11.1	38.9	27.5	39.5
30-39 years	18.8	10.0	17.4	27.3	14.0	22.9	27.8	3.7	36.1	19.6	16.7
40-49 years	13.9	7.5	19.6	9.1	16.0	17.1	11.1	14.8	11.1	23.5	4.2
50-59 years	11.0	27.5	17.4	9.1	18.0	-	-	11.1	5.6	9.8	2.1
60 and over	19.8	37.5	19.6	4.6	36.0	5.7	-	48.2	2.8	13.7	16.7
NA	0.8	-	-	4.6	-	-	-	3.7	-	-	2.1
2. SEX											
Male	39.3	32.5	30.4	47.6	46.9	48.6	5.9	33.3	36.1	40.0	52.1
Female	60.7	67.5	69.6	52.4	53.1	51.4	94.1	66.7	63.9	60.0	47.9
3. RACE											
Black	56.2	60.0	47.8	9.1	64.0	54.3	-	70.4	100.0	96.1	12.8
White	12.1	27.5	43.5	4.6	2.0	2.9	11.1	11.1	-	3.9	8.5
Mexican-American	30.4	7.5	4.4	86.4	34.0	42.9	88.9	18.5	-	-	76.6
American Indian	0.5	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	0.8	-	4.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1
4. MARITAL STATUS											
Single	21.6	12.5	13.0	27.3	28.0	5.7	16.7	18.5	20.0	25.5	40.4
Married	50.7	62.5	54.4	63.6	36.0	80.0	61.1	22.2	60.0	47.1	34.0
Separated	6.7	7.5	6.5	-	2.0	11.4	16.7	7.4	8.6	7.8	4.3
Widowed	11.9	12.5	15.2	-	22.0	2.9	-	29.6	2.9	15.7	6.4
Divorced	9.2	5.0	10.8	9.1	12.0	-	5.6	22.2	8.6	3.9	14.9
5. EMPLOYMENT											
Employed	56.5	42.5	47.8	81.0	34.0	51.5	100.0	29.6	85.3	56.0	74.4
Unemployed	43.5	57.5	52.2	19.0	66.0	48.5	-	70.4	14.7	44.0	25.6
6. EDUCATION											
No Schooling	1.9	-	-	4.6	2.0	-	5.6	7.4	-	-	4.3
Elementary	22.6	22.5	17.4	9.1	52.0	25.7	27.8	44.4	5.6	14.0	8.5
Some High School	23.7	12.5	30.4	9.1	10.0	60.0	16.7	14.8	16.7	42.0	14.9
High School Graduate	20.2	22.5	26.1	22.7	26.0	14.3	-	14.8	22.2	18.0	21.3
Some College	18.6	20.0	15.2	36.4	6.0	-	44.4	3.7	36.1	12.0	31.9
College Graduate	6.2	10.0	10.8	4.6	2.0	-	-	7.4	5.6	4.0	12.8
Trade/Technical	3.5	7.5	-	9.1	-	-	5.6	-	2.8	8.0	4.3
Professional	2.2	5.0	-	-	2.0	-	-	-	11.1	2.0	-
NA	1.1	-	-	4.6	-	-	-	7.4	-	-	2.1
7. OCCUPATION											
Professional, Technical	13.5	10.3	11.1	25.0	22.0	8.6	11.1	-	19.4	7.8	22.2
Managers, Adm. - X Farm	6.0	3.5	6.3	20.0	-	-	-	-	11.1	7.8	13.3
Sales Workers	2.8	6.9	2.8	-	-	-	-	3.9	5.6	2.0	6.7
Clerical	11.0	6.9	11.1	30.0	4.0	14.3	5.6	11.5	5.6	11.8	20.0
Craftsman, Foreman	2.8	24.1	2.8	-	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Operative - X Transport	0.6	3.5	-	-	-	-	-	3.9	-	-	-
Transport Equip. Oper.	1.7	3.5	5.6	-	-	-	-	7.7	-	-	2.2
Laborers - X Farm	8.8	-	2.8	-	18.0	17.1	-	-	-	27.5	2.2
Farm Workers	0.8	3.5	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Service Workers	25.3	20.7	33.3	15.0	10.0	31.4	72.2	15.4	52.8	27.5	11.1
Private Household	5.6	17.2	5.6	-	6.0	14.3	-	15.4	2.8	7.8	-
NA	20.1	-	11.1	10.0	36.0	14.3	5.6	42.3	2.8	22.2	7.3
8. OCCUPATION STATUS											
Retired	73.2	100.0	66.7	100.0	58.8	50.0	-	73.3	66.7	72.7	85.7
Disability	26.8	-	33.3	-	41.2	50.0	-	26.7	33.3	27.3	14.3

Appendix C

REVIEW OF LITERATURE, RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The perennial concern about citizen participation in local decision-making was given new impetus through the federal legislation which created the Demonstration Cities program. The present study examines the structure and functions of Model Cities agencies in a selected region; explores the nature of goals and objectives of the resident participation component program; analyzes resident attitudes, perceptions, and community involvement activities; and measures the extent to which residents of various cities feel alienated from the decision-making functions of federally mandated programs in selected localities.

A composite picture of the Demonstration Cities program is contained in President Lyndon B. Johnson's message to Congress on January 26, 1966. His statement to Congress proposed a $2.3 billion "Demonstration Cities Program." In an overall sense, the message revealed the depth and breadth of federal involvement and commitment to metropolitan affairs, and outlined the necessity for federal leadership and involvement in solving urban problems. The positive response from the Congress was revealed in the passage of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act. The passage of this legislation paved the way for eligible cities to receive grants to help finance a coordinated and concerted attempt to eliminate urban blight.

Nature and Scope

The Demonstration Cities program was designed to cover many problem areas of central cities. The program, by intent, was broad in scope. When President Johnson described the Demonstration Cities program he called for the combined tasks of physical reconstruction and rehabilitation, accompanied by effective social programs. Achievement was to come through the rebuilding process. In terms of specificity, demonstration cities chosen would seek "to build not just housing units, but neighborhoods; not just to construct schools, but to educate children; not just to raise income, but to create beauty and end

our poisonous environment."[1] The fundamental principles guiding the attainment of goals for the program rested on the premise that local government would have the responsibility for marshalling public and private forces through political leadership; that citizens and city government would negotiate a sharing of power that would permit effective participation by neighborhood residents. In this initiated partnership, the city would be the dominant partner with no exclusive control by citizens or any single group.[2]

From its inception, the Model Cities program promised to usher in a higher level of citizen involvement in the planning and execution of comprehensive programs of community development. Guidelines for experimental programs called for the full cooperation of government at various levels with the citizens of Model Neighborhoods. This cooperative planning effort is reflected in the specific mandate calling for the development of advisory committees and other means for Model Neighborhood residents to participate in policy-making, planning, and the execution of all program elements.

Specific Requirements. "Section 103 (a)(2) of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 requires that Model Cities provide for *widespread citizen participation* in the program."[3] A policy statement on this program element explains the implementation of this statutory provision as: (1) the constructive involvement of citizens residing in Model Neighborhoods in plan formulation and implementation; and (2) the means of introducing the views of these citizens in decision-making and area residents should be afforded the opportunity to actively participate in the planning and implementation of demonstration plans. More pointedly, the preferred approach is explained this way:

> This requirement grows out of the conviction that improving the quality of life of the residents of the Model Neighborhood can be accomplished only by the affirmative action of the people themselves. This requires a means of building self-esteem, competence and a desire to paticipate effectively in solving the social and physical prolems of their community . . .[4]

[1]For details regarding the City Demonstration Programs, see: Message from the President of the United States, January 26, 1966, House Document No. 368, 89th Congress, 2d Session, pp. 4-11; and Fred Powledge, *The Citizen Participates* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970) in *The American Cities*, published by Winston Press, 1970, pp. 88-89.

[2]H. Ralph Taylor, "Citizen Participation in the Model Cities Program," remarks presented at a Meeting of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Minneapolis, Sept., 1968.

[3]Department of Housing and Urban Development, Model Cities Administration's CDA Letter No. 3, Washington, D.C., October 30, 1967.

[4]*Ibid.*

The leadership structure of the Model Cities agency (including advisory committees, policy and planning activities, and organizational input in the execution of the program are indispensable ingredients in the plan execution of the program. Provisions for citizen participation require some form of organizational program structure which absorbs neighborhood residents in the process of policy and program planning; in program implementation and operation. The residents serving in such a capacity were to consist of persons whom neighborhood residents accepted as representing their interests.

The goals and objectives of the program required a balance or "fusion" or organizational rationality, comprehensive neighborhood planning, and the incorporation of the personal needs of citizens. As a whole, the program was directed toward making a general impact on the physical and social problems of neighborhoods; removing or arresting urban blight and decay; alleviating certain socio-educational disadvantages, all of which were to be accomplished through a concerted and mutual endeavor of agency-citizen involvement. A key directive relating to program implementation was to develop a means through which resident participation in decision-making could be effectuated.

The Problem

As the standards of performance for Model Cities programs are reviewed, it becomes apparent that the responsibility for neighborhood rehabilitation and services rests with the local government under whose umbrella the demonstration cities program operates. The city government, as the principal agency for carrying out the Model Cities program, has the responsiblity for insuring that the program structure adopted is capable of providing the means for Model Neighborhood citizen participation. Its mandate requires that the local governing agency provide the mechanism for full, active involvement in the planning and execution of all program elements. The program calls for establishing a partnership where city agency officials and residents work together in program planning so that output or performance goals fulfill the purpose of the program.

With the kind of partnership advocated, measures of the effectiveness of productivity — indeed, the agency's capability for operating a workable program where citizens are involved in all phases of planning and implementation become critical issues. Effectiveness

is viewed, in this instance, as a result-oriented concept and any measurement criteria or need assessment must reflect performance goals and achievement goals. Some studies in the past have omitted any reference to output measures as related to Model Cities program evaluation and effectiveness. One deficiency or problem found in the literature has been the lack of effective measurement criteria by which program success could be evaluated.

"Traditionally, the standard procedure for defining the goals of a plan involved primarily staff responsibility. These were goals defined on the basis of the planner's perception of community goals."[5] Studies reveal, however, that planners are beginning to recognize the diverse nature of community goals and they are seeking new ways of directly involving the public in the goal formulation process. This shift in the planning posture has caused some concern as is illustrated in several studies which examine planning documents of several cities.[6] For instance, Friedmann suggests an image of planning that is more consonant with an institutional setting and offers suggestions for comprehensive policy and program planning. "The former is chiefly concerned with the maintenance and achievement of performance goals for the city as a whole; the latter with the attainment of achievement goals for specific functional activities or sectors."[7] This discussion, like many others, examines critical criteria for measurement — criteria which may be useful in assessing Model Cities agency effectiveness.

Another problem has been associated with closing the gap between low-income residents and others living in Model Neighborhoods and other segments of the larger population. A basic purpose of the Model Cities is to improve the quality of life for people living in the designated neighborhood areas of the Model Cities program. This means that any gross differentials or gaps between the living conditions of Model Neighborhood area residents and the living conditions of residents in the larger community would have to be reduced. The performance goals and achievement goals of the program would have to reflect activities directed toward reducing any differentials in living conditions which might exist; thereby, improving the quality of life. This would mean, too, that needs must be assessed so that workable program goals can be established and achieved.

[5]Ira M. Robinson (ed.), *Decision-Making in Urban Planning*, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972), pp. 37-38.

[6]William L. C. and Margaret F. Wheaton, "Identifying the Public Interest: Values and Goals," in Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-59

[7]See: John Friedmann, "Performance Goals and Achievement Goals," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 31, 3 (Aug., 1965), pp. 195-97.

The lack of uniformity in need assessment creates some problems when attempts are made at evaluating Demonstration Cities programs. This occurs in spite of the program model recommended by federal officials. The planning model for Demonstration Cities stipulates that cities follow a predefined rational, orderly, step-by-step approach in developing programs. The types of needs may have some uniformity but the extent and magnitude of community improvements vary from city to city. The difficulty encountered by some cities in satisfying the technical requirements of the planning process represents one problem related to performance measures of the program. Other constraints which tend to impede the achievement of objectives may be described as both organizational and fiscal.

Another basic issue is how and by what means the Model Cities program is representative of actual progress toward its objectives and the amount of program inputs which make such progress possible. One suspects that there may be a direct, qualitative, and readily discernible relationship between output measures, resident participation, and agency effectiveness. Since such output measures would be the main stimulus for inducing change in the quality of life in Model Neighborhoods, resident involvement in selecting the specific aspects which are most important to them become a critical issue in overall effectiveness. Their judgements, as reflected in goal statements, in planning and formulation; indeed, in implementation represent the crux of program performance.

More than six years have passed since the passage of legislation creating the Demonstration Cities program. In seeking to change the quality of life for Model Neighborhood residents, cities have demonstrated with a combination of programs, projects and other activities over a five-year period. The important question now faced is: To what extent have these programs effectively and efficiently improved the quality of life and closed gaps? How do Demonstration Cities measure up to the specific criteria which have been enumerated? In planning, are agencies lacking in success as measured by short-range and long-range final results? Are there specific constraints which impede the achievement of full resident involvement in total program planning? Are there barriers to the establishment of cooperative working relationships? In essence, the major problem is to know what has been successful and why it was successful. The investigation attempted here addresses itself to these queries.

This investigation presents major findings and pertinent data which describe the existing state of selected Model Cities programs, compares findings relative to attitudes and perceptions of residents

concerning agency performance and achievement, measures success through a correlation of output or performance and achievement, measures success through a correlation of output or performance measures with specific program goals: measures feelings of alienation through an Index of Powerlessness; and relates these phenomena to agency functioning and capability.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Earlier works on citizen participation have focused on administrative and socio-political theory and methodological questions regarding access to influence in mass society. Research on the organizational and structural characteristics of municipal governments, general discussions and structural characteristics of municipal governments, general discussions and definitive explanations of the concept of citizen participation as related to community action has occupied additional attention by scholars. Extensive and comprehensive bibliographic references have adequately reviewed and classified these studies.[8]

Varied ideological strands are noted in more general works on citizen involvement. Politico-environmental issues are the concerns of some writers; mass influence and political participation as related to the phenomena of power and decision-making are common threads found in many socio-political studies. General works dealing with access to influence in the decision-making process focus primarily upon citizen participation and its influence upon city political systems. Banfield, Wilson, Milbrath, and Coulter[9] identify the more salient inputs and core activities of city governments while Wirth,

[8]See, for example, Vincent Mathews, "Citizen Participation: An Analytical Study of the Literature," Washington, D.C.: Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice, 1968; Dale R. Marshall, "Who Participates in What? A Bibliographic Essay," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 4 (December, 1968), 201-23; Charles Bonjean and David Olsen, "Community Leadership: Directions of Research," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 6 (December, 1968), 278-300; Barbara Hudson, *et al.*, "Metropolitan Communities: A Bibliographic Supplement - 1965-67," (Berkeley: Institute of Community Studies, University of California, 1969), and Delbert A. Taebel, "Strategies to Make Bureaucrats Responsive," *Social Work*, 17 (November, 1972), 38-43.

[9]E. C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963); P. B. Coulter (ed.), *Politics of Metropolitan Areas: Selected Readings*, (New York: Crowell, 1967); and Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965).

Wood, Axelrod and Grant,[10] for example, delineate patterns of urban life and means of obtaining access to political decision-making.

The emphasis placed on citizen participation in central cities is reflected in a large body of literature on federally initiated programs of community involvement. Community action studies, urban renewal projects and demonstration programs seeking the involvement of neighborhood residents have been the target of both empirical and applied research. Edgar and Jean Cahn, Marris and Rein, Kotler, and Rossi underscore the value of citizen participation in satisfying a variety of social and political objectives. The authors also provide a theoretical and practical examination of the concept in relation to community organization.[11] Findings, for the most part reflect the activities of earlier federally funded programs for community improvement. There is substantial material available on policies and performance standards for citizen participation in Model Neighborhood programs. Some writers have even attempted to assess program impact in neighborhoods where Model Cities demonstrations are taking place. Few studies have come to grips with evaluation vis-à-vis output measures and program goals.

Thorwood, in his study of "The Planning and Management Process in City Government," devoted considerable attention to citizen participation. He explored the extent to which citizen involvement in local government has changed during five program years and the effects of HUD programs on citizen involvement; problems encountered in trying to facilitate citizen participation; and projected impact. Only the Model Cities program was rated as having produced a greater increase in citizen involvement among the other local factors used as variables in Thorwood's study of 268 municipalities. "While Model Cities has not yet been applied on a wide scale, it has been successful in increasing . . . participation in

[10] See: Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44 (July, 1938), 1-24; Robert C. Wood, *Suburbia*, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1958); Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), 13-18; and David R. Grant, "Political Access Under Metropolitan Government," in Daland, *Comparative Urban Research*, (Sage, 1969), 249-76.

[11] Edgar S. and Jean C. Cahn, *Citizen Participation*, in Spiegel's *Citizen Participation in Urban Development*, (Washington, 1968); Peter Marris and Martin Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform*, (London: Atherton, 1967); Milton Kotler, "Two Essays on the Neighborhood Corporation," *Urban America: Goals and Problems*; and Peter Rossi and R. A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, (New York: Free Pess of Glencoe, 1961) in Spiegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

government in those areas where it has to be implemented,"[12] says the author.

Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn — like Thorwood — analyze Model Cities programs in a representative number of cities. Findings from the Kaplan-Gans-Kahn study suggest that: (1) Relationships between local chief executives and residents and level of turbulence were closely related to city response patterns; (2) cities responded to Model Cities programs in a number of ways; and (3) each response pattern generated specific types of outcomes or characteristics with respect to the planning process and action year efforts.[13] These studies, for the most part, provide comparative analyses of participating cities and their response to performance characteristics in the light of criteria set forth in the Demonstration Cities mandate. They concentrate on the planning process, analyze response rate patterns and measure the attitudes of city officials concerning the relative effects of HUD-related programs on any increase in citizen involvement. Previously published studies examine additional variables related to "the pre-Model Cities environment in an effort to determine if there were identifiable environmental conditions that were more likely to produce one type of response pattern than another."[14] The studies deal specifically with factors influencing Model City response patterns and assess patterns of influence. They omit resident perceptions and attitudes about the agency and its output performance characteristics. Only Thorwood attempted to locate and assess the major barriers to increased citizen participation and, even here, his inquiry is confined to responses by city officials.

Warren refers to the unexpected emergence of "resident participation as a powerful and unexpected element in the planning process. Through a review of commentaries on the Demonstration Cities program, Warren ponders pertinent questions regarding politics, planning, and participation. The theme of the article is difficult to discern. He does report on evidence which suggests a struggle for power or control over the program, stating that the contenders for power are the local municipal authorities and neighborhood residents. Absent from the struggle are leading

[12]Thomas Thorwood, "The Planning and Management Process in City Government," *Municipal Yearbook*, published by the International City Management Association, Washington, C.D., 1973, pp. 27-38.

[13]Evaluation Division, Office of Community Development, *The Model Cities Program*, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., July, 1973.

[14]*Ibid.*, pp. 1-9.

city-wide agencies."[15] These agencies, according to Warren, re-enter the scene in a bit more active way as plans approach implementation. Again, his article was geared to agency-citizen involvement in the initial stages of planning for Model Cities programs, and deals specifically with participatory channels and the escalation of resident participation. It does not consider attitudes and perceptions of residents or achievement goals as per performance criteria.

The Atlanta survey of federally mandated groups comes closest to exploring the ideas which are advocated in the design of this study. The methodology for the Atlanta survey includes a series of differentiated approaches. In one instance, the objects of study were neighborhood advisory councils and block groups which comprised each council's substructure. This approach permitted an assessment of resident perceptions found near the structural base of established federal programs.[16] Staff members and agencies involved in project operations for the Model Cities program were also interviewed and asked for reactions concerning citizen participation and program implementation.

Several conclusions emerged from studies of the Atlanta Demonstration Agency. Hallman describes the program as "disproportionately controversial," while Aleshire views it as a continuation of the Community Action program approach. Mogulof points out several deficiencies in federal participatory programs in general. "Most federal participation programs have focused their greatest energies on building structures," says the author.[17] Austin reports on several other programs and contends that CAP programs have operationally emphasized organizational and advisory functions of resident participation.[18] Structures for the Community Action Program (CAP) and the Model Cities Program are similar. Both programs are service-oriented, with emphasis on structural arrangements and neighborhood-based representation. Mogulof

[15]Roland L. Warren, "Model Cities First Found: Politics, Planning and Participation," *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 35 (July, 1969), 245-52.

[16]John D. Hutcheson Jr. and Francis X. Steggert, *Organized Citizen Participation in Urban Areas*, (Georgia: Center for Social Change, Emory University, undated).

[17]Howard W. Hallman, "Federally Financed Citizen Participation," unpublished paper prepared for the National Academy of Public Administration Conference on the Participation of the Poor, 1970, in Hutcheson and Steggert, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Melvin B. Mogulof, "Citizen Participation: A Review and Commentary on Federal Policies and Practices," in Hutcheson and Steggert, *op. cit.*

[18]Hutcheson and Steggert, *op. cit.*

agrees "that the best clue to Model Cities participation lies in a program's organizational structure. The structure will inevitably reflect the decision system which is likely to have legitimacy in the eyes of the people."[19]

From the many studies cited, it appears that local situations determine the directions of citizen participation activities in communities; and that problems of effectiveness relate more to measures of operational performance than of program planning. Indeed, certain measures of program goals, can provide some indication of agency effectiveness and capability. This kind of assessment provides the frame of reference for studies of agency structures, of program analysis, goals and program approaches; of the attitudes and perceptions of Model Neighborhood residents toward the agency's operational performance.

The significance of the relationship between citizen participation and self-perceived power must also be considered if one is to get a comprehensive picture of the program's impact. It could be argued that this is a dimension of political participation and, as such, could be subjectively perceived. To be sure, the concept of political alienation is developed as a factor relevant to citizen participation. In this context, it is defined as a combination of perceived lack of power in community affairs and distrust of those who hold power positions. "Powerlessness was suggested long ago by Hegel and Marx in their discussions of the worker's 'separation' from effective control over his economic destiny; of his helplessness; of his being used for purposes other than his own."[20] Since the advent of federally mandated programs, individuals are becoming increasingly involved in public affairs. Yet, there are citizens who still question the significance of input and influence. These perceived feelings of powerlessness may be differentiated in a number of ways. Manifestations of perceived alienation have been referred to as powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and even self-estrangement. Parenthetically, such feelings may emanate from community contacts or interactional relationships between local city officials and Model Neighborhood residents. To this end, perceptions of and responses to the goals, objectives, and program approaches enunciated by the Model Cities agencies become salient variables in assessing overall program effectiveness.

[19]Mogulof, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

[20]Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 26, No. 5 (October, 1961), pp. 753-58.

Statement of Purpose

The central purpose of this investigation was to assess output or performance measures of Demonstration Cities (Model Cities) programs in selected cities in the Southwest Region. The investigation made this assessment in the light of goals and program approaches; evaluated effectiveness through a determination of the relationship of such measures to program goals which, when succinctly described, equals goal attainment; and related these phenomena to citizens' attitudes and perceived alienation toward the agency in general, its structure, plans, and operations.

Answers were sought to the following questions: (1) To what extent were cities relating program efforts (or inputs) to desired program results (or outputs) in the Southwest Region? (2) To what extent have programs effectively improved the quality of life and closed gaps in designated Model Neighborhoods? (3) What impact has the resident participation component had on citizen involvement? (4) What attitudes existed among residents in Model Neighborhoods concerning the agency, its services and programs, and their participation in the program planning and decision-making? Based on a total analysis of variables designed to test these inquiries, certain implications were derived from the findings based on the data.

Objectives of the Study

Impact and program peformance data on operational and structural characteristics of agencies, input and output measures relative to program effectiveness, resident attitudes toward agencies and program operations; and resident involvement activities were sought through both individual and collective assessments of programs in ten (10) Model Cities in the Southwest Region. Specifically, the investigation attempted to achieve the following objectives:

1) To collect data on programs planned by Model Cities agencies, including impact and program performance data and structural characteristics for select cities;
2) To assess the effectiveness of Demonstration Cities programs through a comparative analysis of output or performance measures by city and examine the relationship of output measures to program goals;
3) To examine the level of resident participation by exploring the degrees of involvement by residents, perceptions and attitudes toward goal formulation, program planning, and execution; and to determine feelings of alienation from decision-making processes;

4) To determine program impact and effectiveness through a goals-achievement assessment and attitudinal measurement.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This section provides details on the procedures used in the investigation, sample design and instrument, and general methodological considerations.

METHODOLOGY

Two basic approaches were used in the investigation. The first approach involved the development of suitable measures for determining goals of perfomance for Model Cities agencies. Specific criteria useful for program analysis were delineated. The focus of this phase was on output measures or measures of performance. For sake of clarity, output measures required by Model Cities planning were categorized in terms of *problem identification* and an assessment of problem conditions in terms of their extent and severity; *level of performance* which involves establishing the level of performance that program inputs must produce; and *goal achievement* evaluation. The latter performance measure emanates from determining periodically the degree of improvement achieved.

In examining the basic purpose of the program — improving the quality of life for people living in Model Neighborhoods — an attempt is made to define and explain the relationship of output measures to program goals. This evaluation task represents one phase of the investigation.

The second approach utilized in the investigation is directly related to resident participation. Since the guidelines for the program require considerable citizen input in planning and implementation, efforts are directed toward determining the level of citizen involvement in planning, decision-making and implementation. We conducted a survey of resident's judgements reflected in goal statements; examined attitudes and perceptions relative to agency performance and program activities; elicited information relative to civic activity and leadership capability; and probed for feelings of relative alienation from

decision-making processes; feelings of powerlessness among Model Neighborhood residents.

• The combined approaches comprised the basic study design for the research. An evaluation of Model Cities planning agencies for various cities is guided by a common frame of reference, which incorporates the goals, objectives, and program approaches.

Sample Design and Instrument. Data were collected from ten (10) Demonstration Cities in the Southwest Region. These Model Cities included Little Rock, Albuquerque, Tulsa, Lawton, San Antonio, Houston, Edinburg, Austin, New Orleans, and Waco. The study areas were selected at random from a listing of all Demonstration Cities in the region. Administrative personnel and resident populations in each of the cities comprised the sample population. The sample size approximated 300 interviews.

To develop a comprehensive picture of Model Cities non-programmatic components these particular aspects of agency functioning were explored: the extent of control over planning and management by local agency officials; how Model Neighborhood needs for improvement were identified; the extent to which citizen involvement in local governmental decision-making changed as a result of Model Cities input; problems encountered in trying to facilitate resident participation; and the relative impact of output measures on performance goals. Agency relationships or linkages with existing groups and organizations were also examined.

Model neighborhood residents were contacted in the interest of measuring attitudes toward the agency's program; of examining perceptions of participation in planning and decision-making; of assessing relative alienation, vis-à-vis feelings of powerlessness.

Two instruments were used in the investigation. The first instrument, Schedule A, contained several questions — some open-ended questions to permit free expressions of attitudes regarding agency programs and resident participation without unduly restricting respondents to pre-established categories. Others were multiple-choice questions on attitudes, such as whether the respondent agreed or disagreed with certain statements. The interview schedule was structured to probe for leadership characteristics, organizational affiliations, neighborhood issues, and perceived needs for neighborhood improvement.

Descriptive variables were used to elicit responses regarding demographic characteristics for all respondents. To pursue socio-economic phenomena and implications for program objectives, level of alienation, and certain other motivations. A portion of the

instrument (Schedule A) contained an Index of Powerlessness.[21] Using alienation as a main variable, three major components were measured: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. The scale used consists of nine powerlessness items, six normlessness items, and nine social isolation items. Three subscales are combined to make up the alienation scale. Alienation component variables were correlated with four background factors: education, occupation, income, and age.

Agency information and perceptions of administrative personnel regarding planning and the meaning of neighborhood control, information on output measures and goal achievement were ascertained by items included in Schedule B.

Sampling Procedure. The scope of the study was limited to demonstration cities in the Southwest Region. A sample of residents and administrative personnel comprised the study population. Respondents were randomly selected for interviews according to a pre-established method, with specific consideration given to the location of residences and cross-section representation of Model Neighborhood residents. The portion of the sample involving agency personnel was confined to persons working at the administrative level of the agency and those employed in the resident participation component of the program.

Interviewers were instructed to include a proportionate number of male and female residents, aged 18 years and over, as were dictated by current population data for the particular sample cities. This method of sample selection yielded as representative a sample of each Model Neighborhood area as could be expected in a small sample of reasonable cost. Using current census information, a scale map of Model Neighborhoods superimposed on Census Tract maps was used for weighting areas according to population distribution. The general distribution of the population for areas in each city was outlined for sample construction. Where census tract boundaries varied from 1970 data, estimates based on up-to-date population predictions were used. An interpolative technique was employed in both Albuquerque and Edinburg, where census information on predominantly Mexican-American neighborhoods was difficult to ascertain because of the mixture or inclusion of "others" with Spanish surnames in figures contained in 1970 Census reports. In Lawton, Oklahoma,

[21]See: Dwight D. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," *op. cit.*; Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," *Social Forces*, 38 (March, 1960), 191-95; and Delbert C. Miller, *Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement*, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1973), p. 323.

estimates were used for the Indian population. These circumstances prompted use of measures of sampling variability and control to insure maximum reliability of the data.

Data were collected for cities included in the study and subjective to both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Frequency and percentage classifications were permitted in all cases; correlation and multi-variate analysis were employed when impact data were compared with other basic variables.

In this study, an analysis of the data was outlined according to particular emphasis relating to agency performance and goal achievement. Attitudinal assessments and perceptions of residents were revealed through narrative indications and quantitative analysis. Basic implications were drawn from an interpretation of the data and were revealed in the form of summaries and findings at appropriate points. The findings presented are, at best, tentative. They do, however, reflect rather clearly the goals and objectives of citizen participation in Model Cities programming in relation to improving the quality of life in declining urban neighborhoods.

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